

AUGUST, 1928
**Current
HISTORY**

JUL 26 1928

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Conventions and Platforms*

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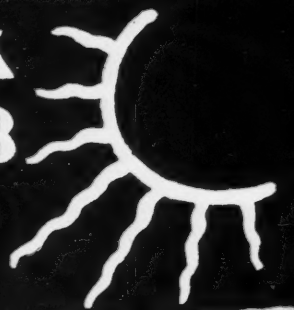
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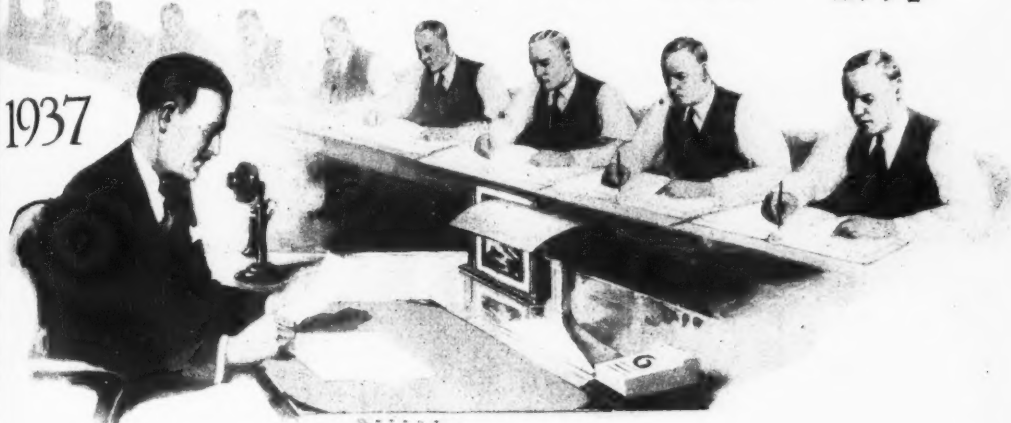
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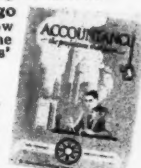
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CURRENT HISTORY

BOOK REVIEWS

VOL. XXVIII

AUGUST, 1928

NO. 3

The "Aggressor" in Four Wars

By CHARLES JOHNSTON

IN two able historical studies* which have recently appeared, Emil Ludwig's *Bismarck* and Eugene Bagger's *Francis Joseph*, considerable light is thrown on the question of who was the "aggressor" in four of the conflicts that have taken place in Europe since 1860. In each case the evidence shows that the appearances at the time were deceptive—a fact that demonstrates the wisdom of the American State Department when it refused to make a distinction between aggressive and defensive wars as M. Briand proposed when inviting the United States to enter into a new treaty recently.

The first of the four wars whose genesis we may consider is the conflict of 1864, which eventually led to the annexation of the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein by Prussia, an appropriation of old Danish territory which was in part neutralized when the Northern districts of Schleswig were restored to Denmark by the Treaty of Versailles. Emil Ludwig clearly brings out the fact that Bismarck was not certain beforehand what the outcome of the war would be: "Down to the very end," he quotes Bismarck as saying, "I was always firmly convinced that a personal union with Denmark would have been better than what existed; that an independent ruler would have been better than the personal union, and that union with Prussia would have been better than an independent prince. Only events could show which of these was attainable." So he shows Bismarck playing with Machiavellian skill in the hope of coming out victor in the end. But at the same time Ludwig shows that Bismarck was determined to force the war against the conviction of his sovereign and the protests of Germans like the great scientist and politician Virchow. "The war is of his contriving," he writes; and again: "When at length he has persuaded King William and Emperor Franz Josef to make war. * * * It is, therefore, certain that Prussia, inspired

by Bismarck, was the true aggressor, even the Danish Government, by proclaiming the union of Schleswig with Denmark, had at the time the appearance of being the aggressor.

Bagger reaches exactly the same conclusion. He goes further, showing that the Danish war was, in Bismarck's scheme, only a step to the war of 1866, when Prussia, after long effort, finally brought Austria to her knees. With this conclusion Ludwig is in complete agreement. He tells us that in the Summer of 1866 the uneasiness in Vienna became so great that a breach with Prussia seemed imminent. "Bismarck's pulse quickens. The aim of the first war, the aim of his fifteen years' work, seems to be on the verge of achievement. 'The moment is favorable for a war,' he says with scientific coolness." Once more, "Bismarck continues to do all he can to induce Austria to take the offensive." Ludwig is even more explicit when he writes that "if the attempt to assassinate Bismarck in May, 1866, had been successful" the political struggle between Prussia and Austria might have been intensified for a time, but the German war would not have taken place. This was not a people's war; it was not even a war made by the Cabinets; it was the war of one Minister, who dragged along the Cabinet, the King and the Generals in his wake. None the less, "this war-scheming Minister, Bismarck," was entirely successful in forcing Austria into the position of aggressor. Bagger also completely endorses this view: "The Austrian Government summoned the estates of Holstein. This was a breach of treaty; the *casus belli* for which Bismarck had schemed through ten years. And it was Austria at that, not Prussia, which ordered mobilization first," thus becoming in appearance the aggressor. Ludwig adds the final touch when he shows that the King of Prussia believed he had entered upon the campaign "only for defensive purposes."

The events which led up to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 show the use of exactly the same methods. A Hohenzollern prince had aspired to the crown of Spain, but when the Government of Napoleon III urged strong ob-

**Bismarck*. By Emil Ludwig. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1927.

Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria—King of Hungary. By Eugene Bagger. New York: Putnam's. 1927.

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jections, this claim was renounced. On the threat of war being thus removed, Bismarck determined, exactly as in 1864 and 1866, to force his opponent into the rôle of the aggressor. Unfortunately, Napoleon's Minister, the Due de Gramont, and the headstrong envoy Benedetti played into his hands. Gramont pressed the King of Prussia for a promise that this renunciation should be made permanent, and Benedetti importunately insisted on a promise from the King which, sought with more tact, might easily have been given. But this would have defeated Bismarck's plans. Therefore, "the King at Ems received a threatening wire wherein Bismarck declared that if William should receive Benedetti again he (Bismarck) would resign," the threat which he used through years to coerce the weak will of his sovereign. Count Benedetti once more sought an audience with William, who declined to receive him, and in wiring to Bismarck that he had done so, added: "His Majesty leaves it to your Excellency to decide whether this new demand of Benedetti's and its rejection had not better be communicated without delay to our envoys and to the press."

This is the famous Ems telegram. The decision was placed in the hands of Bismarck. The question of the Spanish crown had in fact been settled. There was no cause of quarrel between Prussia and France. Bismarck, if he had desired peace, had only to withhold the telegram and the whole matter would have been peacefully settled. But he was determined on war, and consultation with Moltke and Roon had convinced him that the Prussian army was much stronger and better prepared than the French. So he decided to publish at once, not the complete telegram, but a garbled version, which had the appearance of an insult to the French Government, an insult certain to be resented. But Bismarck's real offense lay not in "condensing" the Ems telegram but in publishing it. As Ludwig says, "in actual fact, by publishing this dispatch Bismarck made war inevitable without having even asked his master." Finally, Bismarck, who had planned and brought on the war, succeeded in placing France in the position of aggressor. Therefore, throughout this critical period, in which the German Reich came into being, a consistent and successful effort was made to force three wars, and at the same time to evade the appearance of "war guilt."

We now come to the World War. According to Bagger's account, Francis Joseph regarded the tragedy of Sarajevo as the just and well-deserved punishment of the Archduke for the crime of marrying a woman not of royal blood. Although there were wild outbreaks against Serbian residents in Vienna and Budapest, Francis Joseph himself did not want war.

But, Bagger says, "his foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, that living statue of arrogant competence, competent only in manipulating a tired old man's will, pulled him to war." Berchtold bargained for assurance of German support. This was not difficult. "William of Hohenzollern was easily carried into one of his Nibelung moods. On July 14 the Chief of Staff, General Conrad, had an audience with Francis Joseph. He urged, 'But are you sure of German help?' demanded of the monarch. Conrad referred to a note patched to Berlin the night before and pressing just that question. 'If the answer is Germany is on our side, shall we then make war on Serbia?' asked the General. 'In case, yes.' Francis Joseph was wavering. July 14 came a letter from Wilhelm offering his aid."

It remained to place Serbia in the position of aggressor. For forty-eight hours "Count Berchtold trembled that Serbia might, and in spite of all, accept his unacceptable terms." Serbia did substantially accept, the Austro-Hungarian Government, determined to force the war, declared that Serbia's reply was unsatisfactory. On July 27, Count Berchtold submitted to Francis Joseph a draft of the declaration of war on Serbia, added that "according to a report from the Fourth (Buda-Pest) Army Corps Command, Serbian troops had on the preceding day opened fire from Danube steamers on Austro-Hungarian troops," thus actually beginning hostilities. On July 28, Francis Joseph signed the declaration of war against Serbia, which launched the World War. The following day Count Berchtold informed Francis Joseph that "the news of the battle of Temes-Kubin"—an attack by Serbian troops just described—"had not been confirmed." Bagger adds that the news was not confirmed "for the excellent reason that such an attack had never taken place. It was invented by Count Berchtold. So Serbia, in reality fighting a defensive war, was made to appear the 'aggressor.'"

The Problem of the Pacific

By TYLER DENNETT

AUTHOR OF *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*

THERE are several ways to divide the globe on Mercator's projection. The most common one, the one made most familiar by the old school geographies, shows London as the centre of one circle, with Am-



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ica on one side and Europe on the other. This has been the traditional way of looking at the Western world. From it we get, for example, the expression "the Far East." Far East from where? From London, of course. Another view of the Western world, one with which Americans should be more familiar, has Panama as the centre and reveals America as a large island, "insular America," to borrow a term from William Howard Gardiner. Still a third view of the world is on an axis which passes from Bering Strait through Samoa. In this view the "East" is West, and the "West" is East, and there converges on the edge a relatively new set of political as well as economic lines which we are coming to describe as the Pacific Problem. Nowhere have the facts of this latter problem been so thoroughly canvassed and set forth as in Nicholas Roosevelt's *The Restless Pacific*.^{*} Hitherto we have viewed the facts only by smaller geographical units, the Canal, the Pacific Coast, Alaska, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, China, the Philippines, Java, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand. Roosevelt unites them together, all of them save the last two, into an exposition as readable as it is informing and thought-provoking.

Unquestionably the great contribution of this book is the organization of the material. It will be a really great accomplishment if Mr. Roosevelt can bring Americans to think in the category, "the Pacific," as easily as they are coming to think about "the Far East." For after all the Far East is not really an American concern, save for the somewhat absent-minded relation with the Philippines; but the Pacific is very much American because we are part of it with the longest coast line possessed by any Power washed by its waters. The reader may elaborate this thought to his great advantage without the aid of a book, but he will think to more profit and with more purpose if he uses *The Restless Pacific* as a guide book.

In the last dozen or fifteen years there have been written perhaps fifty monographs worthy to be incorporated in any library devoted to the Pacific and the Far East. He refers to the serious studies, not to the much larger number of ephemeral travelogues, many of which are already forgotten. Mr. Roosevelt has gathered in these monographs, quarried out their grains of truth always giving credit where credit is due, and has brought the results of his laborious studies together in less than three hundred pages. He has supplemented his studies with travel on the Pacific and into Eastern Asia, and thus is able to clothe his thought with a vividness rarely sur-

passed in a book with such a serious purpose. *The Restless Pacific* has the quality of the best British studies of contemporary world politics. It is a good book to start with, for it supplies the serious reader with the clues necessary to follow up the subject with a six months' course of reading.

The subject is admirably organized. There are three chapters on the "Geography of Position," four on the "Geography of Production," eight on the "Conflict of Policies" and two on the "Balance of Power in the Pacific." Mr. Roosevelt is a faithful disciple of Admiral Mahan and reaches a "big navy" conclusion. His thesis is, however, somewhat weakened by the ready admission that so far as one can see the present Japan is in no position to dispute the balance of power with the United States. One could wish that the author had completed his study with a chapter on Australia and New Zealand, for the facts related to that region have a direct bearing on the conclusion of the book.

One may safely predict that *The Restless Pacific* will at once be incorporated into the shelf, still much less than five feet long, of really important books on the Far East.

Masaryk's Achievement

By MALBONE W. GRAHAM Jr.

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California at Los Angeles

SELDOM is a man under the critical scrutiny of a world-wide public able to tell the complete story of his life without fear or favor. This opportunity, however, has been vouchsafed to the President of Czechoslovakia*—to depict with his own pen, and with the candor and disarming frankness of the Realist that he is, the evolution of events which made the exiled Professor of Philosophy of 1914, driven from home by the persecutions of autocracy, return in triumph scarcely four years later as the head of a new-born democracy. The very complexity of the situation in which he moved lends to the simple narrative of the Czechoslovak statesman an intriguing character; the scope of his observations on men and manners encountered in the course of his pilgrimage around the globe enlightens and illumines the whole volume. The revelation of the rôle he played with an amazing foresight and comprehension of the significance of events clarifies many a tangled situation in

^{*}*The Restless Pacific*. By Nicholas Roosevelt. New York: Scribner's. \$3.

^{*}*The Making of a State: Memories and Observations, 1914-1918*. An English Version arranged and prepared with an Introduction by Henry Wickham Steed. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1927. Pp. xx, 518. \$6.

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the diplomacy and political strategy at crucial moments during the World War.

These, then, are no ordinary memoirs; rather are they the annals of a philosopher-statesman with a profound moral, social and historic insight, the story of a man destined by the converging forces of war and revolution to "translate a cry in the wilderness into the reality of history." And if they reveal the actions of the man they also disclose the evolution of a movement. We find in *The Making of a State* an epitomè of the liberation movement and an analysis of the forces and factors which have made the Czechoslovak State a living and meaningful reality.

It required a profound comprehension of the spiritual meaning of Czechoslovak nationality to force the reputedly pacifist professor to become the leader in a war against Austria; yet it was Masaryk's unalterable conviction, consciously shared at the outbreak of the war by only half a dozen men, that there was no course consistent with the ideals of the Hussite Reformation and the historic traditions of Bohemia save to strike at the tottering foundations of the Habsburg Empire. Hence his decision to stake all upon the outcome of a campaign for liberation, and thus the inescapable necessity of exile. It was not by accident, but with consciousness of its deep historical significance, that Masaryk raised the standard of revolt, in the name of Comenius and Hus, on June 6, 1915, at the Salle de la Réformation in Geneva, realizing that it was essential in a liberation movement to enlist and mobilize the spiritual forces that link Hus, as well as Calvin, with Geneva.

Next came the task of securing political support—one which took him in turn to Paris, London, Petrograd, Tokio and Washington. The Parisians were skeptical to begin with, but the triumvirate of Masaryk, Benès and Stefanik, aided powerfully by Professor Ernest Denis, was able to convince Briand in February, 1916, of the necessity of Czechoslovak liberation. Thenceforth, despite the fluctuations of diplomatic fortune, France was pledged to the liberation movement. Meanwhile, until the outbreak of the Russian revolution, there was the work of informing the British public as to the nature of the Czechoslovak problem and cooperating with the Yugoslavs and Poles in presenting their case to the Allies. Although the British Government as such was reticent, Asquith and Lord Robert Cecil gave the cause of Czechoslovak independence every possible encouragement, while Seton Watson and Wickham Steed proved invaluable aides.

With the fall of Czardom came the time for open action. Hence the pilgrimage to Russia, the uniting of divided counsels among the

Czechoslovaks there and the patent assumption of political leadership which drew fire—and attention—from Austria. It was to make action possible on an impressive scale that Masaryk, despite the vacillations of the Russian Provisional Government, forged from forlorn war prisoners in Russia the Czechoslovak legions, an army whose march across Siberia made history in the stirring days of 1918 and riveted the attention of the entire world on the Czech cause. The culmination came with Masaryk's mission to America at the psychological moment to bring about a reversal of President Wilson's policy toward Austria and aid in administering the final *coup de grâce* to Habsburg absolutism while procuring the recognition of Czechoslovak independence.

This part of Masaryk's narrative will be of profound interest to Americans. He reveals how, through the work of Czechoslovaks in America, the United States Government learned of Austro-German plots during the World War; how the work of organizing and financing the Czechoslovak movement proceeded in America; how the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Ruthenes, denied an opportunity for free expression in the Habsburg empire, worked out in conference in this country a consensus on the program of domestic reconstruction after the war. Most vital of all is the account of how Masaryk consciously influenced step by step the policy of the United States, and how finally the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence was carefully worked out on an American basis and in time, along with President Wilson's notes, to forestall the last futile Austrian manoeuvres for peace.

The destruction of Austria and the winning of Czechoslovak independence are, however, only half the story. With the return of Masaryk to Prague on his election as President of the new State the political narrative ends and the philosopher-President turns to constructive statesmanship, analyzing keenly and dispassionately the broad lines of policy which are essential for preserving intact new-found democracy and reconquered freedom. Here, in relation to the concrete issues of Czechoslovak statesmanship, Masaryk expounds his philosophy of history, of government and of life, exemplifying in relation to each, in its manifold phases, the applicability and practicality of his sane, objective, creative humanitarianism. It is in this vindication of his conduct that the wellsprings of Masaryk's activity are revealed—his fine appreciation of positive values in history, his condemnation of Austria and the whole system that she stood for as typifying negation and social worthlessness, his deep conviction of the possibility of conscious, rationally planned progress, his innate

reeling—staggering—wrestling —they fought with wolf-like fury

Round and round the room they went, man and maid, reeling, staggering, wrestling for the deadly hunting knife he had wrenched from her hand.

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belief in democracy as the final philosophy of social control. Such earnest and powerful convictions are not those of caprice; they are the product of a lifetime of thought and activity.

In the final analysis Masaryk's work far transcends the personal. It is both an interpretation of a movement and an appraisal of the prospects of a nation. What he assayed in a remarkable way in his *Spirit of Russia* over a decade ago he has attempted on a more intimate but no less objective scale in relation to his own people, delving deep into the spiritual subsoil, tracing the intellectual rootage, the historical growth and the final political fruition of Czechoslovak culture. The volume closes with Masaryk's final admonitions to his people, to whom and for whom the volume was originally written. They are in a sense his legacy and testament, setting a standard of achievement for future generations to follow.

A History of the League Of Nations

By DENYS P. MYERS

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

WHEN Professor Bassett was killed on a Washington street a few months ago, the last page of the bibliography which ends this book* was on his typewriter in his Northampton home. The Foreword was unwritten, but a fellow-historian, James T. Shotwell, supplies in its place a tribute to the author and an estimate of his last work.

It was a historian, not a statesman or political scientist or man of affairs, that wrote the book under review. In a historical monograph, Professor Bassett chose to look at the League as a "chapter in world politics," and consequently he presents an institution differing from the usual picture. Most observers lay stress upon the League as an instrument for securing agreement on multifarious technical and humanitarian matters. "A full account of these phases of the League's life is not within the scope of treatment taken for this book."

Naturally, a life-long historian would ask himself the question what part the League was playing in world politics. The question is here answered with a detachment unique in the literature that has grown up about the League, with a judgment at once human and impartial. No one can prove from these pages

whether Professor Bassett as an American was for or against the League, and his book is the better for that.

It is primarily the actions of the League in matters of international disputes and in a few instances of international administration that are dealt with in the course of sixteen chapters of narrative. It is the record of the Assembly and Council on these subjects to which attention is directed. The result is not a complete picture, for the reader has no adequate description of the institution as a whole and no inkling of the constant seeking of agreement through innumerable meetings of committees, resulting every few months in diplomatic conferences on subjects as diverse as freedom of transit and slavery.

The sketchy introductory chapter is followed by a series of detailed accounts of conditions or incidents, recorded from an independent study of the documents and directed at showing the interplay of international events, mostly European, upon League decisions.

Space is given to the financial reconstruction of Austria, but not a word about that of Hungary, Greece or Bulgaria. Obviously in running over the swiftly moving narrative the author had in mind, not the *tour de force* of resurrecting Austria, but the political outcome of that country's plight. The protocol maintaining Austrian independence is emphasized. And he ends with this sly dig: "To those members of the Assembly who thought the League was passing into the control of the great Powers it should have been reassuring to see Viscount Imperiali, representing Austria's ancient enemy, working as hard as the most enthusiastic League supporter to promote an act of purely humanitarian significance."

This concentration of attention on the game of politics, or rather European politics, gives Professor Bassett's work its character. It was what he set out to do, and he did it in a scholarly, quiet way. A large amount of discussion about the League of Nations revolves around this attitude toward international affairs, whether France or Great Britain or Germany or Italy is going to score next. The usual conclusion is for an individual to cover the whole case with whatever incident he may remember well enough to talk about. So far as the League is concerned, this volume covers them all, puts them in perspective, points out their significance, appraises the actors, all with a true historical judgment and restraint.

The author's object being restricted, he has written of selected events only. The first and second sessions of the Council are the subject of the second chapter, followed by two on the Aaland Islands and Polish-Lithuanian controversies, where in the narrative a halt is made to look at the way the First Assembly completed the organization of the League. The

**The League of Nations: A Chapter in World Politics.* By John Spencer Bassett. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. ix, 415 pp. \$3.50.

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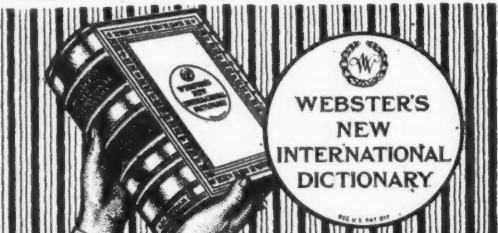
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Upper Silesian and Albanian problems fill the sixth chapter. "The Discontent of the Second Assembly" faces the problem of that plenary body getting on understandable terms with the Council, less numerous and meeting more frequently. The net result was an articulation of the two organs and a basis for their future harmonious cooperation.

Imbedded in a chapter entitled "Threatened Absorption by European Politics" is a section on the Third Assembly, placed on the background of reparations, the Ruhr occupation and the France of the 1922 Poincaré régime. The Saar, Austria, the Corfu incident, the Bulgaro-Greek dispute, the development and failure of the Geneva protocol, Locarno and early German relations with the League, continue a rapid narrative. One chapter is devoted to the long dispute over boundaries between Iraq and Turkey. Germany's entrance into the League, with all its complications in two Assemblies and in reorganizing the Council, is fully described, the blame for the failure of the Special Assembly being placed on Great Britain and France for ignoring "the Covenant in trying to do the work in their own way."

"The United States and the League of Nations" is naturally a chapter in a book dealing with the institution as a phase of world politics. The author's careful account records the initial "fearsome aloofness," the period of unofficial observers, the development of official cooperation and the extent of private aid and membership in committees. Commenting "that whereas this nation has shown most unwillingness to commit itself to the League as a general proposition," the author says that "nevertheless on the specific matter upon which it was willing to cooperate it has shown a desire to go further than any other nation represented in its demands for actual reform."

Professor Bassett ventures some conclusions in his final chapter. Foreign ministers sitting in the Council may be influenced by State policies, "but when they vote a measure as League officials it is League action." There, "perforce, they drop for the time some of their nationalist feelings." He feels "justified in thinking the deterring power of the League is slowly growing stronger." Its power in general "varies adversely with the self-interests of the large States in the League." He sees a natural tendency toward the existence of a "directing junta" in the Council, but doubts the likelihood of "a serious attempt at domination." Great Britain is described as the truest supporter of the League among the big States. "Her loyalty will reach its supreme test when the question is, 'Will she be willing to trust to the League principle the protection of her far-flung possessions?'"

As an agency of peace, Professor Bassett

thinks the League's ability to outlive the generation of 1914-19 is a great asset. "As a newer generation comes into control, whose ideas have been formed face to face with the League, it is reasonable to think that war will not be so completely instinctive with them. * * And it will be very important to have a going organization at hand ready to be used." Whether the League will or will not be capable of meeting whatever emergencies arise is a question to which this historian's answer is "wait and see."

Brief Book Reviews

FEDERAL AID. By Austin F. MacDonald. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$2.75.

This study of the American subsidy system should prove a corrective to much of the discussion appearing on the subject in the public press and current periodicals, as the author attempts to "describe the entire Federal system in some detail, and to evaluate it dispassionately and without prejudice." Dr. MacDonald bases his conclusions primarily on first-hand information, having interviewed many officials and leaders of public affairs throughout the country. Each chapter devoted specifically to the operation of a subsidy law has been submitted for criticism to a representative of the Federal bureau administering the statute. The author believes that "Federal aid makes possible the establishment of a national minimum of efficiency and economy without the sacrifice of State autonomy."

FUNDAMENTALS OF ECONOMICS. By William Wallace Hewett. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$1.75.

Though written primarily for the general reader of mature mind, this book will doubtless serve as a good elementary text. The author, who has had experience in giving brief, special courses in economic principles to various small groups of persons, has acquired the ability "to express in brief, simple, semi-popular form the real spirit of economic science without dodging the more fundamental of economic principles." Students approaching the subject for the first time will find the way made easy by his lucid discussions of such topics as Value Theory, Price Level Changes, Income, Credit and Waste. Considerable attention is also given to the relations between government and industry.

THE LEGACY OF WAR: PEACE. By Boris A. Bakhmeteff. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.

Starting with the thesis that we are under obligations to the "free" men who sacrificed their lives to see that "the Ordeal" should not be repeated and that "the Legacy of War should be Peace," the former Russian Ambassador to the United States analyzes the factors which in these days militate against world conflict and points out our duties as a World Power. The average warrior today partakes in no spoils, nor does the conquering State benefit from war. Observing democracy at work both in the institutions of government and in the habits and ways of national life,

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the author is moved to invert the famous dictum of President Wilson and say that "Hellenism is Democracy that may make the world 'safe for Peace.'" *** So it behooves America to formulate for herself the precepts of a new diplomacy, a diplomacy fit to guide a democratic nation in the practices of foreign affairs."

GREECE. By William Miller. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.

Those who wish to know contemporary Greece will enjoy reading this book, written by a man who has studied the country, its history and its problems almost continuously since 1894. Dr. Miller is one of the friends of Greece who believes that the tenacity and the intelligence of her people will ultimately, with co-operation, secure some of her ancient glory for her interesting present. The writer says that "the very disasters of the State have at times been a blessing in disguise. Thus, the loss of territory in Asia Minor, severe as it was, has been accompanied by the concentration of Hellenism in Europe, which has been more intensive, if less extensive. Greece has probably not yet received her final territorial dimensions; indeed, in the Near East finality is unknown. The Greek State is not even now synonymous with all the lands where Greek is spoken. But the evolution of History, slow, is sure, and there are still a few 'undeveloped' Hellenic lands, placed by diplomacy under alien domination—such as Cyprus under the liberal rule of Great Britain. *** Meanwhile, the Greeks have good reason to rest and be thankful for the net territorial results of the first century of their country's existence."

THE BORGHIAS. By Giuseppe Portigliotti. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

This historical study of the sinister period of the Borgias will appeal to the general reader as well as the scholar, for the author has illumined his subject with the understanding of the psychologist and has shaped his material with dramatic touch. The volume is well illustrated and the chapters are supplemented with documentary evidence. Speaking of attempts of some historians who have attempted partially or wholly to rehabilitate the memory of Alexander VI, the writer says: "It is desirable, for the dignity of the Church itself, that attempts of this sort should not be repeated. The Church may very well recognize the serious nature of her own historic sores; such recognition would be a sign, not of weakness, but of strength and moral superiority. She might do even more, and in this respect we hope our labors may not be unprofitable to her."

EVERYBODY'S AVIATION GUIDE. By Major Victor W. Pagé. New York: The Norman W. Henley Publishing Company. \$2.

Those who are seeking a general, but at the same time diversified, knowledge of airplane and airship operation and construction, will find it in a concise and accessible form in this book of 229 pages by Major Pagé, Army Instructor and Engineering Officer in the Air Service. The treatment, which is the "question and answer" method, is the natural outgrowth of the questions most frequently asked of the writer when he was in service.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS: THE TIME AND THE MAN. By James A. Williamson. New York: Oxford University Press. \$7.

The object of this book," writes Mr. Wil-

Hamson in his preface, "is to reveal the character, influence and achievements of a great Englishman in their relation to the outlook and problems of his time. In writing it I have tried to avoid hero-worship and preserve proportion. * * * The writing of history in the form of biography is apt to falsify perspective. The great man is made responsible for everything, his great contemporaries are thrust in the shadow, and the mass of the small men is ignored. The remedy, especially in dealing with a time remote from our own, is to depict the period as clearly as possible, to show what the many were thinking and doing, and what impressions they received from events as they occurred. Only so can the stage and background be provided for the proper unfolding of our subject's life history. Some of my chapters therefore deal much with the time and little with the man." Following this method Mr. Williamson has produced an interesting and accurate study of perhaps the most stirring period of English history.

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American Labor Year Book, 1928. New York: Rand School, 1928. \$2.50.

The ninth issue. Deals almost entirely with the political problems facing American labor. A handbook of facts rather than of arguments.

BEAVERBROOK, LORD. *Politicians and the War, 1914-1916*. London: Butterworth, 1928. 10s 6d.

The early years of the war as seen by one who was close to the centre of things. A valuable contribution to our knowledge of events that were unreported at the time.

BENDA, JULIEN. *La Trahaison des Clercs*. Paris: Grasset, 1928. Fr. 12.

A brilliant argument that the world is governed by passion rather than by reason, and that the intellectuals, who should have combated this tendency, too frequently have played traitor to their intelligence.

CARVER, THOMAS N., and LESTER, H. W. *This Economic World and How It May Be Improved*. Chicago: Shaw, 1928. \$4.

A sane and stimulating discussion of present problems, written by two well-known economists.

CROTHER, SAMUEL. *The Presidency vs. Hoover*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. \$2.50.

While the book is written to demonstrate Mr. Hoover's fitness for the Presidency, it is much more thoughtful than the ordinary campaign document.

DANTON, GEORGE H. *Germany, Ten Years After*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1928. \$3.50.

An exchange professor at the University of Leipzig discusses contemporary German thought and how it has been affected by the change from a monarchy to a republic.

HAYS, ARTHUR GARFIELD. *Let Freedom Ring*. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1928. \$2.50.

A case book on the suppression of the right of individual opinion. The Scopes case; the

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Vintondale case; *The American Mercury* case
negro segregation in Detroit; censorship of the
stage in New York; and the Sacco-Vanzetti
case in Massachusetts.

KEITH, ARTHUR BERRIEDALE. *Responsible Gov-
ernment in the Dominions*; 2d ed. New
York: Oxford University Press, 1928. 2 vols
\$24.75.

A monumental treatise, originally published
in 1912, rewritten and revised to 1927 so as to
include the work of the Imperial Conference.
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understanding of British Imperial relations.

KENWORTHY, Lieut. Commander J. M., and
YOUNG, GEORGE. *The Freedom of the Seas*.
London: Hutchinson, 1928. 18s.

A carefully reasoned argument to prove that
the traditional British doctrine is no longer
tenable and that President Wilson's doctrine of
the Freedom of the Seas is essential to the
safety of Great Britain in time of war.

KEYSERLING, HERMANN. *Europe*. New York:
Harcourt Brace, 1928. \$5.

Count Keyserling's comments on the Europe
of today are stimulating even though the
reader may frequently disagree; and sometimes
find it impossible to understand them.

KNIGHT, MELVIN M. *The Americans in Santo-
Domingo*. New York: Vanguard, 1928. \$1.

While it is frankly anti-imperialist in its point
of view, it presents a careful study of the
gradual penetration of the island by American
interests, and of the problems arising there-
from.

LEWIS, CHARLES LEE. *Matthew Fountaine Maury*.
Annapolis: United States Naval Institute,
1928. \$6.

A belated tribute to one of the great sci-
entific men of his time, to whom we owe a great
deal of our present knowledge of meteorology
and hydrography.

LEWIS, EDWARD R. *America; Nation or Con-
fusion*. New York: Harper, 1928. \$3.50.

A clear and temperate examination of the
problem of the immigrant, arguing in favor
of the retention of our system of national
quotas.

LONG, J. C. Bryan, *the Great Commoner*. New
York: Appleton, 1928. \$3.50.

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HAIR, L. P. *The Protection of Minorities*. London: Christophers, 1928. 8s 6d.

A handbook, drawn largely from League sources, of the perplexing problem of minorities. Descriptive rather than critical.

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1914. Supplement. *The World War*, edited by TYLER DENNETT and JOSEPH V. FULLER. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928.

The first volume of the official papers dealing with the war. The ordinary diplomatic papers for these years were published earlier.

PATTERSON, ERNEST MINOR. *Tests of a Foreign Government Bond*. New York: Payson & Clarke, 1928. \$2.50.

A book that will be useful to investors in foreign securities and to students of international finance.

PEEL, GEORGE. *The Economic Impact of America*. New York: Macmillan, 1928.

How European economic life has been influenced by the growing financial power of the United States. Holds that, in the financial field, England and America are complementary rather than antagonistic.

POWERS ROSSI, DIANA I. *International Finance Source Book*. Chicago: Investment Bankers Association, 1928. \$1.

A bibliography of the sources of information regarding foreign finance and economics. Particularly useful for those interested in foreign securities.

RAYMOND, E. T. *Portraits of the New Century*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. \$4.

Character sketches of notable English men of the last thirty years, by the editor of *The London Evening Standard*.

Rumania, *Ten Years After*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1928. \$1.50.

An investigation, conducted by the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, of present social and political conditions in Rumania.

REITZER, LAWRENCE H. *Financial History of the American Automobile Industry*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1928. \$3.

A Hart, Schaffner & Marx prize essay. Carefully documented and scholarly account of the development of a new industry.

RITZA, STEFAN. *Briefe*, edited by OSKAR VON WERTHEIMER. Berlin: Hobbing, 1928. Mk. 9.

Letters written July, 1914, and July, 1915, by the Hungarian Prime Minister. Important for the light thrown on internal politics and the negotiations with Italy.

WILLSON, BECKLES. *America's Ambassadors to France 1777-1927: A Narrative of Franco-American Diplomatic Relations*. New York: Stokes, 1928. \$5.

The personalities of our representatives at Paris and the policies they attempted to carry out. Contains new material from the Embassy archives.

WOOLF, LEONARD S. *Imperialism and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928. \$2.

A discussion of the relations of the native races in Asia and Africa with the white man's government and the problems that inevitably arise.

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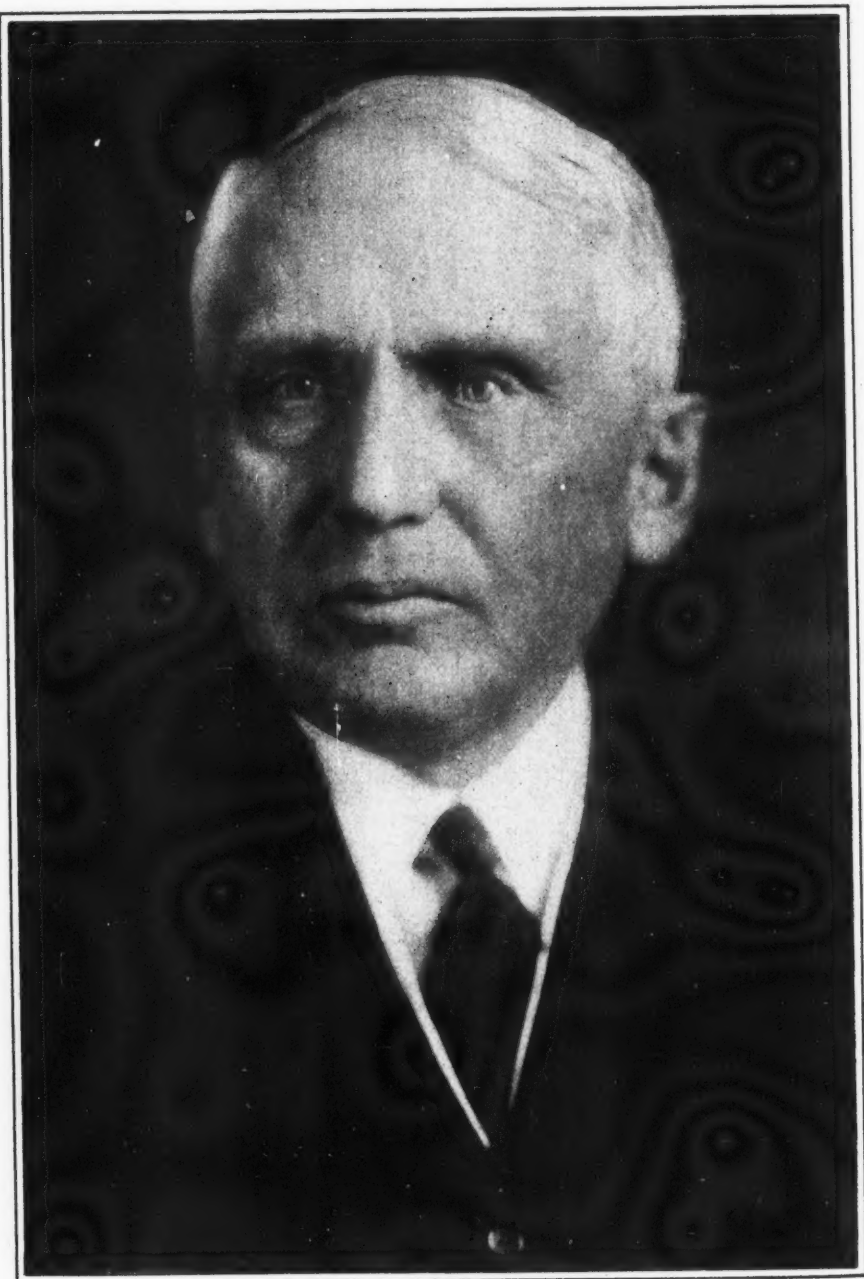
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CURRENT HISTORY

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The Presidential Campaign of 1928

The Presidential campaign of 1928 entered upon its final phase with the action of the conventions of the two major parties in June.

The Republicans met at Kansas City, Mo., on June 12; the Democrats assembled at Houston, Texas, on June 26. In both cases the selection of the nominee for President—Secretary Herbert Hoover by the Republicans and Governor Alfred E. Smith by the Democrats—was made on the first ballot, the action of the conventions having been foreshadowed in the preliminary campaigns. The Socialist candidate for President, Norman Thomas who was selected without opposition, had been nominated on April 16.

As the Republican and Democratic nominees had been clearly foreshadowed, the chief interest in both conventions centred on the platforms to be adopted. The most important issue with Republicans was that of farm relief; the delegates, by an overwhelming vote, rejected the proposal to endorse an equalization fee, and likewise a proposal advocating the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

With the Democrats the situation in regard to the platform was more critical. The nomination of Governor Smith, an avowed Wet, a Sachem of Tammany Hall, the oldest urban political organization in the United States, and a strict Catholic, complicated the problem of the party's attitude on the question of Prohibition, religious toleration, and farm relief. A determined effort was made to commit the party to a disavowal of the Eighteenth Amendment and also to support of an equalization fee as part of its farm relief policy. The determined attitude of the Drys in the convention and the traditional opposition of the Democrats to centralization defeated these attempts. The platform as finally adopted contained a strong enforcement clause, mentioning the Eighteenth Amendment by name, and in vigorous language committing the nominee to a rigid enforcement of the law. This was regarded as a distinct victory for the Drys.

In the following pages will be found a summary of the proceedings of the two conventions, brief biographical notes on the candidates and the text of the important clauses in the Democratic and Republican platforms.

The Republican Convention

THE Republican National Convention met at Kansas City, Mo., on June 12, with Senator Simon D. Fess of Ohio as Temporary Chairman, Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire as Permanent Chairman, and Senator Reed Smoot of Utah as Chairman of the Platform Committee.

The outcome in regard to selecting the Presidential nominee was never in doubt. It was apparent from the start that there was an overwhelming majority of the delegates committed to Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce. The platform, however, gave rise to a spirited contest. The chief issue was over the question whether the

platform should endorse the equalization fee as provided in the McNary-Haugen bill for the relief of the farmers which had been passed by the last Congress and vetoed by President Coolidge. After considerable discussion the equalization fee was rejected and the farm relief resolution as reported was adopted by an overwhelming vote. When the platform was presented a minority report favoring the equalization fee was offered by Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin. On a call of the States, the substitute was defeated by a vote of 807 to 277. A minority report was also presented on the prohibition clause favoring the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. This was overwhelmingly defeated on a viva voce vote. The platform was adopted as originally reported by a practically unanimous vote.

Secretary Hoover was placed in nomination by John L. McNab of California. When Illinois was called the Chairman of the delegation read a letter from ex-Governor Frank O. Lowden, who had been the chief contender for the nomination against Secretary Hoover, refusing to permit his name to be presented on account of the refusal of the convention to endorse the equalization fee. The following names were placed before the convention: James E. Watson of Indiana, Charles Curtis of Kansas, George W. Norris of Nebraska and Guy D. Goff of West Virginia. The ballot resulted as follows: Hoover, 837, Lowden, 74, Curtis 64, Watson 45, Norris 18, Coolidge 17, Dawes 4, Hughes 1.

The drift of sentiment turned strongly toward Senator Curtis of Kansas as nominee for Vice President, and he was nominated on the first ballot, 1,052 to 34.

Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, was chosen as Chairman of the National Committee and a vigorous campaign was organized immediately on the adjournment of the convention.

SECRETARY HOOVER'S CAREER

For the first time in United States history, candidates for both Presidency and Vice Presidency represent States west of the Mississippi. Herbert Clark Hoover, born on Aug. 10, 1874, at West Branch, Iowa, left home soon after the death of his father, the village blacksmith, and of his mother, who was the Quaker minister of the community. The orphaned boy made

his way to California, where his desire to secure a scientific education, led him to work his way through Stanford University, from which he was graduated in 1895. When he was 24 he was sent as an engineer to take charge of gold mines in Australia. The following year he was appointed director general of mines in China. It was during his stay in China that the Boxer rebellion occurred in 1900, and young Mr. Hoover assisted in the defense of the international authorities. From country to country he was sent to develop mining enterprises for his company until at last in 1914, just before the outbreak of the war, he set up an independent engineering business of his own.

Secretary Hoover's services to Belgium and Central Europe during the war are history. His work as United States Food Administrator from 1917 to 1919 is recalled by every American housewife. The term "hooverize" signifies even now the conservation which he inspired during those years of privation. In the years following the war Mr. Hoover organized and managed the American Relief Council, which gave food and shelter to 6,000,000 war-impoorished children in Europe, and he conducted the colossal post-war relief work in Russia, Poland, Germany and other European countries.

But it is the work of Mr. Hoover as Secretary of Commerce since 1921 which gave him leadership in economic reconstruction. When he went to Washington at the call of President Harding the task confronting him was Gargantuan. Business was at low ebb as a result of post-war depression; unemployment was reaching new heights; American industry was not meeting the demands of a lowered European standard of living, and production costs were exorbitant. Mr. Hoover attacked these problems with the directness born of lifelong experience in meeting exigencies. "Business as usual" was his motto and, applying the principles of engineering to the problems of government, he reconstructed a firm foundation for government business, eliminated waste in government bureaus and in industry, instigated systems for reports on American commodities and business trends, and called a National Conference on Unemployment which supplied emergency measures and brought permanent re-

lie. Last year he efficiently organized the relief for the Mississippi flood sufferers. Victims of the flood were cared for skillfully and capably under his personal supervision.

"Business as usual" is the rule by which Mr. Hoover's life is ordered. In his Washington office on June 14—the day on which he was nominated to the Presidency—he went about his routine duties. A radio near by brought him frequent messages of the excitement in Kansas City, but his work as Secretary of Commerce came first. Even in his home that evening with his wife and one of their two sons, as well as a few close friends, he received word of his nomination as the choice of the entire party with the calm of the well-poised business administrator.

Mr. Hoover was married to Miss Lou Henry, a fellow student at Stanford, in 1899, and has two sons, Herbert Jr., who was with his father when news of his nomination arrived, and Allan Henry, who represented the family at the convention.

Mr. Hoover is the first nominee for the Presidency of any party since the foundation of the Government who has had no previous political or military training.

THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

Charles Curtis, or Charley Curtis as he is known throughout Government circles, is indebted to his grandmother for Indian inheritance. Born on an Indian reservation in Shawnee County, Kansas, on Jan. 25, 1860, Mr. Curtis, the grandson of a full-blooded Kaw Indian princess, spent the early years of his life on the Kaw Reservation. When he was 8 years old, a tribe of Cheyenne Indians attacked his own tribe and little Charley was sent through the Cheyenne lines to bring aid from the whites in Topeka. His mission successfully accomplished, he remained with white relatives in Topeka, except for occasional visits to his grandmother. On such visits his grandmother urged him to forsake the Indian ways and to follow the habits of the white people. Taking her advice, he left the reservation forever to start his education in the Topeka schools. After school hours he was a jockey. He became an expert rider and entering many of the races in Kansas, was adjudged one of the best jockeys of his time. On one occasion

while racing on a Kansas City track the course was held up by Jesse James and the Dalton gang. Thinking that they were going to steal his horse, young Charley hid in the darkness until the bandits departed.

On his graduation from the Topeka High School, Mr. Curtis took advantage of an opportunity to study law in Topeka, and at twenty-one was admitted to the bar. Politics attracted him, and within three years he was elected prosecuting attorney of Shawnee County, Kansas. Here he waged a successful war on the hundred saloons which were doing a rushing business in defiance of a State law. One month after he had been elected to office he had closed every one of the saloons. In 1892 he was elected to the House of Representatives and in 1907 to the United States Senate. When the Progressives were in full swing, he was defeated for re-election, but after two years he was returned to the Senate. At the death of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Mr. Curtis became the Republican leader of the Senate.

His interests have always been with the farmer. He fought the battles of the McNary-Haugen bill in 1927, and changed his vote only when President Coolidge vetoed the bill, for Mr. Curtis has always been an orthodox party man, supporting the administration with no inclination to ally himself with such factions as the Populists, the Free Silverites and the Progressives. In Congress he has worked consistently to uphold the rights of the Indian tribes, and in support of the woman's suffrage amendment. He is an ardent Dry.

Senator Curtis is a widower. During the last long illness of his wife his two daughters were chaperoned by Senator Curtis's sister, Mrs. Edward E. Gann. Since the death of Mrs. Curtis in June, 1924, and the marriage of his daughters, the Senator has made his home in Washington with Mrs. Gann, who is ably fitted to act as his hostess as well as his political confidante. His daughter, Mrs. Leona Curtis Knight, was a delegate from Rhode Island to the Kansas City convention and it was a gracious tribute that she should have been chosen on June 15 to second her father's nomination, which she did in seventeen words as follows: "I am asked by my delegation to come and second the nomination of Senator Curtis of Kansas."

The Democratic Convention

THE Democratic National Convention met at Houston, Texas, on June 26.

Claude G. Bowers of Indiana and New York, an editorial writer for *The World*, was Temporary Chairman and made the keynote address. The Permanent Chairman was United States Senator J. T. Robinson of Arkansas. The Chairman of the Platform Committee was United States Senator Key Pittman of Nevada. The nominating speeches consumed two sessions of the convention on June 27 and 28, the following being placed in nomination: Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, Evans Woollen of Indiana, Representative William A. Ayres of Kansas, Representative Cordell Hull of Tennessee, Jesse H. Jones of Texas, Huston Thompson of Colorado, Gilbert H. Hitchcock of Nebraska, Atlee Pomerene of Ohio.

The platform was reported at the ninth session, June 28, and was adopted without debate on motion of Senator Glass of Virginia, a prominent Dry advocate, and former Secretary of the Treasury. The Platform Committee had been in session for two days debating the controversial clauses on the subject of farm relief and Prohibition. The sub-committee on Prohibition reported a plank containing a provision recognizing the right of the people to amend the Federal Constitution as well as to repeal it. This was voted down by the main committee after a warm debate, and a substitute plank offered by Senator Glass was adopted by the committee with five negative votes, representing delegates who favored, in addition to an enforcement clause, a definite endorsement of the amendment itself.

When the platform was presented to the convention, Governor Moody of Texas, one of the five "bone-dry" opponents to the clauses reported, stated his objection to the clause, but announced that he would not offer a minority report. Whereupon the platform was presented to the convention and adopted by a practically unanimous vote.

Balloting for President followed, and Governor Smith was nominated on the first

ballot. As the first roll call proceeded he received 724 2-3 votes, ten votes less than the number required to nominate. When this fact was apparent, Ohio changed its vote to Smith, which gave him the nomination, and other States followed. When the first ballot was finally revised, it resulted as follows: Alfred E. Smith (N. Y.) 849 2-3, Senator George (Ga.) 55 1-2, Senator Reed (Mo.) 52, Representative Hull (Tenn.) 50 5-6, Jesse H. Jones (Texas) 43, Senator Pat Harrison (Miss.) 8 1-2, Governor Vic Donahey (Ohio) 5, Evans Woollen (Ind.) 7, Representative Ayres (Kan.) 3, Senator Pomerene (Ohio) 3, Huston Thompson (Col.) 2, Chief Justice Watts (S. C.) 18, Governor Biblo (Miss.) 2 1-2.

The convention reassembled Friday morning, June 29, and the following were placed in nomination for Vice President: Senator Robinson (Arkansas), Major General Henry T. Allen (Kentucky), Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross (Wyoming), Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Senator Duncan U. Fletcher (Florida).

The first ballot resulted as follows: Senator Robinson (Arkansas) 1,035 1-6, Major General Henry T. Allen (Kentucky) 21, Major George L. Berry (Tennessee) 11½, Governor Dan Moody (Texas), 9 1-3, Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) 9, Senator Duncan U. Fletcher (Florida) 7, Ex-Governor Nellie Tayloe Ross (Wyoming), 2, Lewis G. Stevenson (Illinois) 2, Evans Woollen (Indiana) 2.

GOVERNOR SMITH

Alfred Emanuel Smith, born in a tenement on New York City's east side on Dec. 30, 1873, is the first candidate for President of the United States from the crowded sidewalks of a city. His father earned his living as a truck driver, and even before his death in 1886, "Al," the name by which Governor Smith has been known since earliest childhood, had begun to peddle newspapers to help out the family budget. After his father's death he left school and found work as a clerk in Fulton Fish Market. For seven years he supported his mother and sister on his \$15 a week. A devout Roman Catholic, he made many friends among his associates in St

James's parish, and as a young man he displayed a neighborliness and geniality that secured him membership in the Seymour Club, a Democratic organization in the Second Assembly District. It was at this time that Mr. Smith, always fastidious in dress, adopted the brown derby which has since become a symbol of the democracy for which he stands. In the Seymour Club he met Thomas F. Foley, saloonkeeper and Tammany Hall boss, who recognized in young "Al" ability, wit and fluent tongue, ingredients of a successful politician. Accordingly when an opportunity came to elect a new Assemblyman, Mr. Foley suggested "Al" Smith. Thus, in 1903, he entered upon his career at Albany.

For twelve years he remained in the Assembly familiarizing himself with the affairs of his State. As Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, he grew to know State finance; as Speaker in 1913 he became proficient in administering State government; as Vice Chairman of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission appointed after the tragic Triangle shirtwaist factory fire in which many factory girls lost their lives, he learned to apply his neighborliness directly for the welfare of the city and State. His work on the commission gave him the fervor for social welfare legislation which has marked his entire political life, and which has resulted in the enlightened labor code which the State of New York takes pride in today.

The year 1915 gave Mr. Smith a broader forum in which to display his knowledge of the State in the work of proposing changes in its fundamental law in the Constitutional Convention. The Chairman of the convention was Elihu Root. Both political parties sent their ablest men to the convention.

Mr. Smith participated in nearly every important debate and displayed a knowledge of State administration and legislative procedure and history that astonished his colleagues.

In 1915 Mr. Smith was elected Sheriff of the County of New York. Attached to this office was remuneration amounting to \$50,000 a year. For the first time the Smith family was freed from the bondage of poverty. At the expiration of his term he was made President of the Board of Aldermen of New York City under Mayor John F. Hylan.

His election for the first time as Governor of the State of New York followed in 1918. With the exception of the years 1921 to 1923, when the Republican Presidential landslide removed all New York State Democrats from office, Mr. Smith has held the Governorship since 1918. His four terms have been marked by an extraordinary grasp of the administration of State affairs, and phenomenal ability to overcome all obstacles placed in the way of his successful management by Republican opposition in the Legislature. His brilliant record as Governor gave him national reputation.

His second election as Governor by a plurality of nearly 368,000 placed his name among Presidential possibilities. His name was before the Democratic Convention in 1924, and for 96 of the 103 ballots he was contesting leadership with the other chief candidate, William Gibbs McAdoo, the nomination finally going to John W. Davis.

Mr. Smith consented to run for Governor a third time in 1924, and was elected over Col. Theodore Roosevelt by 108,000 votes, though President Coolidge carried the State by 870,000. During this term he carried through important amendments to the State Constitution over Republican opposition. In 1925 he led the movement which prevented the renomination of John F. Hylan as Mayor of New York City, and resulted in the selection of James J. Walker.

Governor Smith won a signal victory by his election to the Governorship for the fourth time in 1926. His opponent was Ogden L. Mills, at that time a Representative in Congress and subsequently Under-Secretary of the Treasury and probably the strongest candidate that the Republican Party could have put forward at that time. He was elected over Mr. Mills by 247,478 votes. This was the election which made him the foremost possibility for the Democratic nomination, and such endorsements came from all parts of the country, making inevitable his choice as the party's nominee.

Mr. Smith married Miss Catherine Dunn on May 6, 1900. They have five children, Alfred Jr., Emily (Mrs. John A. Warner), Catherine (Mrs. Francis J. Quillinan), Arthur and Walter. Throughout the years of his political growth, reports have com-

mented upon his love for his home and family as often as upon his political victories. He was steadfastly devoted to his mother until her death in 1924. His home, whether at the humble tenement in New York City or at the Executive Mansion in Albany, has always been the scene of rollicking gayety. Pets of all kinds have found favor with parents and children alike.

Governor Smith is proud of his humble origin. In spite of success and popularity, he has always retained the genial friendliness and simple neighborliness of his east side days. Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in placing Governor Smith's name before the Democratic convention, said: "Instinctively he senses the popular need, because he himself has lived through the hardship, the labor and the sacrifice which must be endured by every man of heroic mold who struggles up to eminence from obscurity and low estate. Between him and the people is that subtle bond which makes him their champion and makes them enthusiastically trust him with their loyalty and their love."

DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

"I've been around this Senate for a long time. Never have I found any man easier to get along with than Joe Robinson." This statement, made by Senator Charles Curtis in 1927, indicates something of the good fellowship between the Democratic and Republican nominees for the Vice Presidency. The two men are close friends and in some respects have had parallel careers. Both are lawyers and Methodists. Both served several terms together in the House of Representatives before being elected Senators from their respective States. Both have so handled the acute problems of government that each has been rewarded with the leadership of his own party on the Senate floor. Many a bitter party battle has been successfully arbitrated after a quiet conference between these two colleagues—"Joe" and "Charley."

Joseph Taylor Robinson, born on a farm in Lonoke County, Ark., on Aug. 26, 1872, was the son of a country doctor. He studied in the country schools and later was graduated from the University of Arkansas. After studying law at the University of Virginia he returned to Lonoke to begin his practice there. He was immediately chosen

as a member of the Arkansas Legislature and served there for one year. Although he returned to private practice, he was soon selected again to serve as a Presidential elector in 1900. Since then he has been in public life. He was elected to the Fifty-eighth Congress as a Representative from the Sixth Congressional District in 1902 and remained there for ten years, until he was elected Governor of Arkansas. The two weeks which followed are unique in political history. On Jan. 14, 1913, he resigned from Congress. On Jan. 16 he was inaugurated as Governor. He was elected United States Senator on Jan. 28, on the death of Senator Jeff Davis, and, in spite of some objection on the part of the people of Arkansas, took office at once. At each election since then he has been returned and in the Sixty-eighth Congress was elected Chairman of the minority group, following the retirement of Senator Underwood.

As leader in the Senate he has been a fiery administrator as well as a restrained arbitrator. On the floor of the Senate last Winter during the period of Senator Heflin's speeches denouncing Governor Smith and the Roman Catholic Church, Senator Robinson rebuked Mr. Heflin and received from him in return the challenge to resign. Senator Robinson complied, but before twenty-four hours had passed, a caucus was held which gave Mr. Robinson an overwhelming vote of confidence. On the other hand, Senator Robinson has been instrumental in healing the wounds caused by the Democratic convention in 1924. He has been regarded as an ardent supporter of Prohibition.

Senator Robinson has done his best work in putting through a thorough program of rules reform, and with Senator Jones of Washington in rushing through the Senate a \$325,000,000 flood control bill in 89 minutes, shutting off three days of Senate oratory. He assisted in legislation for the creation of the Federal Trade Commission, and in drafting a bill for reorganizing the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. Robinson married Miss Ewilda Gertrude Miller on Dec. 15, 1896. They have no children. The Senator's particular sports are golf, hunting and fishing. During one vacation in Scotland he went grouse hunting and returned with a record bag. His

duck hunting is famous. Each year he brings home his game for a great duck dinner, which has become known as an event in Washington. He has a robust physique, and his famous resounding voice could be heard on the radio in every part of the

country during the Democratic convention, where he was Permanent Chairman.

Senator Robinson is the first resident below the Mason and Dixon line since the Civil War to be named on the Presidential ticket by either of the major parties.

The Republican Platform

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION—After an unqualified endorsement of the Coolidge Administration and a recital of the record of the Republican Party to whose conduct of affairs was attributed the unexampled and unprecedented prosperity of the country, the platform takes up in detail the questions of public economy, and commends highly President Coolidge's course "of sound administration."

FINANCE AND TAXATION—On the subject of finance and taxation, Secretary Mellon is highly commended for the unrivaled success of his sound administration of finance. "In seven years the public debt has been reduced by \$6,411,000,000, and by refunding securities, &c., there has been an annual saving of interest charges of \$275,000,000 and taxes have been reduced \$1,800,000,000 a year."

TARIFF—"We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff as a fundamental and essential principle of the economic life of this nation. While certain provisions of the present law require revision in the light of changes in the world competitive situation since its enactment, the record of the United States since 1922 clearly shows that the fundamental protective principle of the law has been fully justified. It has stimulated the development of our natural resources, provided fuller employment at higher wages through the promotion of industrial activity, assured thereby the continuance of the farmer's major market, and further raised the standards of living and general comfort and well-being of our people. The great expansion in the wealth of our nation during the past fifty years, and particularly in the past decade, could not have been accomplished without a protective tariff system designed to promote the vital interests of all classes.

"Nor have these manifest benefits been restricted to any particular section of the country. They are enjoyed throughout the land, either directly or indirectly. Their stimulus has been felt in industries, farming sections, trade circles and communities in every quarter.

"However, we realize that there are certain industries which cannot now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and a lower cost of living abroad, and we pledge the next Republican Congress to an examination, and, where necessary, a revision of these schedules to the end that American labor in these industries may again command the home market, may maintain its standard of living and may count upon steady employment in its accustomed field.

"Adherence to that policy is essential for the continued prosperity of the country. Under it the standard of living of the Amer-

ican people has been raised to the highest levels ever known. Its example has been eagerly followed by the rest of the world, whose experts have repeatedly reported with approval the relationship of this policy to our prosperity, with the resultant emulation of that example by other nations.

"A protective tariff is as vital to American agriculture as it is to American manufacturing. The Republican Party believes that the home market, built up under the protective policy, belongs to the American farmer, and it pledges its support of legislation which will give this market to him to the full extent of his ability to supply it. Agriculture derives large benefits, not only directly from the protective duties levied on competitive farm products of foreign origin, but also indirectly from the increase in the purchasing power of American workmen employed in industries similarly protected. These benefits extend also to persons engaged in trade, transportation and other activities.

"The tariff act of 1922 has justified itself in the expansion of our foreign trade during the past five years. Our domestic exports have increased from 3.8 billions of dollars in 1922 to 4.8 billions in 1927. During the same period imports have increased from 3.1 billions to 4.4 billions. Contrary to the prophecies of its critics, the present tariff law has not hampered the natural growth in the exportation of the products of American agriculture, industry and mining, nor has it restricted the importation of foreign commodities which this country can utilize without jeopardizing its economic structure.

"The United States is the largest customer in the world today. If we were not prosperous and able to buy, the rest of the world also would suffer. It is inconceivable that American labor will ever consent to the abolition of protection which would bring the American standard of living down to the level of that in Europe, or that the American farmer could survive if the enormous consuming power of the people in this country was curtailed and its market at home, if not destroyed, at least seriously impaired."

FOREIGN DEBTS—"In accordance with our settled policy and platform pledges, debt settlement agreements have been negotiated with all of our foreign debtors with the exception of Armenia and Russia. That with France remains as yet unratified. Those with Greece and Austria are before the Congress for necessary authority. If the French debt settlement be included, the total amount funded is \$11,522,354,000. We have steadfastly opposed and will continue to oppose cancellation of foreign debts.

"We have no desire to be oppressive or grasping, but we hold that obligations justly incurred should be honorably discharged.

We know of no authority which would permit public officials, acting as trustees, to shift the burden of the war from the shoulders of foreign taxpayers to those of our own people. We believe that the settlements agreed to are fair to both the debtor nation and to the American taxpayer. Our Debt Commission took into full consideration the economic condition and resources of the debtor nations, and were ever mindful that they must be permitted to preserve and improve their economic position, to bring their budgets into balance, to place their currencies and finances on a sound basis and to improve the standard of living of their people. Giving full weight to these considerations, we know of no fairer test than ability to pay, justly estimated.

"The people can rely on the Republican Party to adhere to a foreign debt policy now definitely established and clearly understood both at home and abroad."

FOREIGN POLICIES—"We approve the foreign policies of the Administration of President Coolidge. We believe they express the will of the American people in working actively to build up cordial international understanding that will make world peace a permanent reality. We endorse the proposal of the Secretary of State for a multilateral treaty proposed to the principal powers of the world, to be open to the signatures of all nations, to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and declaring in favor of pacific settlement of international disputes, the first step in outlawing war. The idea has stirred the conscience of mankind and gained widespread approval, both of Governments and of the people, and the conclusion of the treaty will be acclaimed as the greatest single step in history toward the conservation of peace.

"In the same endeavor to substitute for war the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the Administration has concluded arbitration treaties in a form more definite and more inclusive than ever before and plans to negotiate similar treaties with all countries willing in this manner to define their policy peacefully to settle justiciable disputes. In connection with those, we endorse the resolution of the Sixth Pan-American Conference held at Havana, Cuba, in 1928, which called a conference on arbitration and conciliation to meet in Washington during the year, and express our earnest hope that such conference will greatly further the principles of international arbitration.

"We shall continue to demand the same respect and protection for the persons and property of American citizens in foreign countries that we cheerfully accord in this country to the persons and property of aliens.

"The commercial treaties which we have negotiated and those still in the process of negotiation are based on strict justice among nations, equal opportunity for trade and commerce on the most-favored-nation principle and are simplified so as to eliminate the danger of misunderstandings. The object and the aim of the United States is to further the cause of peace, of strict justice between nations with due regard for the rights of others in all international dealings. Out of justice grows peace. Justice and consideration have been and will continue to be the inspiration of our nation.

"The record of the Administration toward Mexico has been consistently friendly and with equal consistency have we upheld American rights. This firm, and at the same time friendly, policy has brought recognition of the inviolability of legally acquired rights. This condition has been reached without threat or without bluster, through a calm support of the recognized principles of international law with due regard to the rights of a sister sovereign State. The Republican Party will continue to support American rights in Mexico, as elsewhere in the world, and at the same time to promote and strengthen friendship and confidence.

"There has always been, as there always will be, a firm friendship with Canada. American and Canadian interests are, in a large measure, identical. Our relationship is one of fine mutual understanding, and the recent exchange of diplomatic officers between the two countries is worthy of commendation.

"The United States has an especial interest in the advancement and progress of all the Latin-American countries. The policy of the Republican Party will always be a policy of thorough friendship and cooperation. In the case of Nicaragua, we are engaged in cooperation with the Government of that country upon the task of assisting to restore and maintain peace, order and stability, and in no way to infringe upon her sovereign rights. The marines now in Nicaragua are there to protect American lives and property and to aid in carrying out an agreement whereby we have undertaken to do what we can to restore and maintain order and to insure a fair and free election. Our policy absolutely repudiates any idea of conquest or exploitation, and is actuated solely by an earnest and sincere desire to assist a friendly and neighboring State which has appealed for aid in a great emergency. It is the same policy the United States has pursued in other cases in Central America.

"The Administration has looked with keen sympathy on the tragic events in China. We have avoided interference in the internal affairs of that unhappy nation, merely keeping sufficient naval and military forces in China to protect the lives of the Americans who are there on legitimate business and in still larger numbers for nobly humanitarian reasons. America has not been stampeded into making reprisals, but on the other hand has consistently taken the position of leadership among the nations in a policy of wise moderation. We shall always be glad to be of assistance to China when our duty is clear.

"The Republican Party maintains the traditional American policy of non-interference in the political affairs of other nations. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the Covenant of the League. On this we stand.

"In accordance, however, with the long-established American practice of giving aid and assistance to other peoples, we have most usefully assisted by cooperation in the humanitarian and technical work undertaken by the League, without involving ourselves in European politics by accepting membership.

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Answers to Favorite Wet Arguments

By ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON

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THE opponents of Prohibition rely upon continuous repetition of a series of fallacies and sophistries. In order that the falsity of these arguments may be clearly exposed, I present the following replies, taking up the various misstatements in the order in which they appear in their most recent presentation in an article by a prominent supporter of the anti-Prohibition cause. Fallacies Number 20 and 21, which, through some oversight or through lack of space, he omitted, are part of the usual Wet armentarium, and are therefore here presented to make the collection complete:

1—*Use of intoxicants is not wrong, or law would prohibit it:*

Many States had and still have laws which forbid drinking intoxicating liquor in public places. Laws forbidding such drinking in private places might face constitutional obstacles, unless such offenses were made felonies. It would have been possible to forbid all drinking by law, as also to legalize confiscation of all liquor in this country, when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect, but since the enemies of this national policy have shown themselves prepared to combat it by invoking every possible technicality and law's delay, it seemed unnecessary to take this step inasmuch as, according to the decisions of the Supreme Court, as well as of many lesser courts, the end sought—the abolition of the drinking of intoxicants—could more readily be obtained by the methods that were taken. One might quote in this regard the decisions of the Supreme Court. In the case of *Samuels v. McCurdy* (267 U. S., 188, 197), Mr. Justice Harlan said:

The ultimate legislative object of Prohibition is to prevent the drinking of intoxicating liquor by any one because of the demoralizing effect of drunkenness upon society. The State has the power to subject those members of society who might indulge in the use of such liquor without injury to themselves to a deprivation of access to liquor in order to remove temptation from those whom its use would demoralize, and to avoid the abuses which follow in its train.

In *Duncan Townsite Company v. Lane* (245 U. S., 307), Mr. Justice McReynolds said:

It must now be regarded as settled that, on account of their well-known noxious qualities and the extraordinary evils shown by experience commonly to be consequent upon their use, a State has power absolutely to prohibit manufacture, gift, purchase, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within its borders without violating the guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment. . . . And considering the notorious difficulties always attendant upon efforts to suppress traffic in liquors, we are unable to say that the challenged inhibition of their possession was arbitrary and unreasonable or without proper relations to the legitimate legislative purpose.

2—*Prohibition was intended as a remedy for drunkenness or over-indulgence in alcoholic liquors:*

Not over-indulgence but any indulgence in alcoholic beverages has been the object of the attack of the Dry forces for many years. The Eighteenth Amendment is not a remedy for drunkenness but a weapon against the use of the narcotic, habit-forming drug called alcohol, whose beverage use is out of place in this very complex, highly organized, tensely strained, high-powered civilization. This age does not want men and women who are partly sober, nearly sober or generally sober any more than it desires men and women who are partly honest, nearly truthful and generally chaste. Neither behind the wheel of the chauffeur, at the throttle of the locomotive, the stick of the aviator or the lathe of the machinist, nor anywhere else in our crowded American life, is there a place for the man whose mind is dulled and whose nerves are shaken by any indulgence in alcoholic drinks. The Eighteenth Amendment was intended to outlaw absolutely all such beverages.

3—*Intoxicating liquor can be consumed without harm, as shown by the experience of France and Italy, which lead in the per capita consumption of wine:*

Volumes might be published filled with the decisions of the court to the effect that beverage liquors are responsible for the

greater part of the crime, pauperism and insanity which has cursed this nation. The Massachusetts State Board of Labor in 1892, at the order of the State Legislature, made a very careful study of the principal causes of crime, pauperism and insanity in that State and announced its findings in a volume familiar to all social students. It placed the burden of responsibility for these social ills upon intoxicating liquor. Beer, the most common drink, it is worth noting, was held to a greater degree of responsibility than other beverages whose alcoholic content was greater.

Concerning France, one might quote the report of the Seventeenth International Congress Against Alcoholism, which says:

French Chambers of Commerce are investigating the relation of alcoholism to industry. A report of such an inquiry by the Chamber of Commerce of Epinal gives the following: "Of the 15,000 building workmen in the Vosges over one-third are such 'passionate' drunkards that discharges reach frightful proportions." An employer from St. Die says: "If I were to be strict toward the drunkards, I would have to discharge a third of my workmen." Three employers from Remiremont are quoted: "We can not deal too severely with drunkenness; we should lack hand labor." Another says: "In varying degrees 75 per cent. of my adult employes are alcoholic."

M. Renaud, director of L'Institut Scientifique et Industriel, made an inquiry during the war among factory managers and superintendents, from whom the following is quoted: M. F. Brazzalo, constructing engineer (Paris-Passy): "I can say that 50 per cent. of my laborers were discharged for intoxication." M. A. Cothias of Cothias Metal Company (Ivry-Port Seine): "The only serious disagreement we have had with the help had drink as purely the cause." Director of Rouen Company: "Alcoholism certainly accounts for 50 to 60 per cent. in reducing the actual output of our port workers; yet we employ on the average from 1,000 to 1,200." M. Clavel: "Alcoholism is almost always disastrous. Those of our workmen who succumb to it are half as effective as workers as the others."

To this study of M. Renaud may be added a statement made by the President, T. P. Carmichael, and the Vice President, F. Roy, of the Union Syndicates of the Textile Industries of France, including seventy syndicates employing over 800,000 workers and paying over half a billion in wages annually; and speaking of the crisis in industry and the need to secure the greatest possible productivity of labor because of the loss of men in war, they say: "The great majority of our members consulted on this subject are of the opinion that the truly practical remedy would be total prohibition."

Concerning Italy, Premier Mussolini's attempts to control the beverage liquor traffic of his nation, his reduction in the num-

ber of drink shops and limitation of liquor licenses have proved the sincerity of his statement that "wine and spirit drinking must no longer corrupt the Italian race."

4—The personal liberty plea:

The personal liberty argument has been exploded so long that few seriously consider it today. I would like to quote from two men, internationally famous, concerning liberty. The first is Ramsay MacDonald:

And we must also insist that laws and regulations are not only not antagonistic to liberty but are the very conditions of liberty. They are the expressions of the social life; they are the signs of warning, the directing finger posts which the experience of the past has set up for the guidance of the future. * * * Liberty is like wealth, in that it should be carefully used if it is to fulfill its purpose. Laws and regulations prevent its misuse, and make easy its proper use. * * * Where two persons form a community, they have to provide for common liberty as well as for individual freedom. Liberty is an adjustment of opposites. When Liberty is sovereign, Control is her chief adviser.

The other is Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University, who says:

The essence of liberty is psychological. It is the power to satisfy the major human instincts, such as the instinct of self-preservation, the instinct of workmanship, the instinct of self-respect and the instinct of homemaking. Liberty is the power to really satisfy our fundamental human wants. Alcohol interferes with that true individual liberty, just as does opium, morphine, chloral or any other habit-forming drug that "steals away our brains." The man who has the most liberty is the one who enjoys the greatest freedom to exercise his faculties. Anything that impairs or befuddles those faculties narrows the range of freedom to exercise them.

One of the greatest documents of human liberty is the Eighteenth Amendment, worthy to rank with the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. The Supreme Court, which stands as the bulwark of defense against any assault upon our liberties, has said:

(Crowley v. Christensen.) Nor can it be said that the Government interferes with or impairs any one's constitutional rights to liberty or to property when the Government determines that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks for general or individual use, as a beverage, are or may become harmful to society, and constitute, therefore, a business in which no one may lawfully engage.

Personal liberty is least where there is no law and no government. It is greatest where anti-social acts are prohibited for the common good.

5—*Prohibition abolished an age-old custom:*

That the Eighteenth Amendment abolished a custom of centuries is no argument against it. We abolished a custom of centuries when we substituted whale oil lamps for pine knots and tallow candles, kerosene lamps for whale oil lamps and the electric light bulb for all of these. We abolished a custom of centuries when the buggy and the truck horse yielded to the automobile. Every advance in civilization means the abolition of another custom of the centuries. Prohibition has abolished the custom of regarding drunkenness, vice and crime as inevitable phases of our social life, and has substituted for them sobriety, decency and prosperity. We now know that there is no "necessary evil," and we are acting today upon Gladstone's definition of the purpose of government, which is "to make it easy for men to do right and difficult for men to do wrong."

6—*Persuasion did not precede legislation:*

The lack of attention given the history of the prohibitory movement by those who are fighting it today, is evidenced by the insistent recurrence of the fallacy that the Dry forces did not first attempt the enlightenment of the public upon the need for abstinence or upon the evils of alcoholic indulgence. No social reform was ever preceded by so thorough and so long an educational effort. Many organizations spent millions of dollars in teaching the evils of alcohol long before the Eighteenth Amendment was even considered. Only after several generations had been most carefully instructed on the subject was the amendment proposed in Congress. It was because of that educational work that an unparalleled wave of popular approval compelled its prompt ratification by forty-six States. Even today, after the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws to enforce it have been upon the statute books for eight years, the friends of Prohibition are still continuing and are intensifying their work of instruction. The Anti-Saloon League has, in this current year of 1928, organized a new department whose work is to be exclusively educational.

7—*A minority put Prohibition over:*

Repeatedly the Wets assert that "Prohibition was put over by a minority." If this

be true, one is curious to know why the Wet minority does not put over anti-prohibition. The truth is that the Dry majority was so tremendous that it amazed even the most sanguine of the best-informed supporters of this cause. No fewer than twenty-five States adopted Prohibition by referendum vote prior to National Prohibition. They were Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, North Carolina, West Virginia, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Virginia, Washington, Idaho, South Carolina, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, South Dakota, New Mexico, Utah, Florida, Nevada, Texas, Wyoming, Ohio and Kentucky. Eight other States had adopted Prohibition by legislative enactment, in response to popular demand, prior to National Prohibition. They were Georgia, Iowa, Mississippi, Indiana, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas and New Hampshire. In Arkansas this legislative enactment was subsequently sustained on referendum vote in 1916. When the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified one-half the people living in licensed territory were in four States, one-quarter of all the people in licensed territory were residents of six cities, more than half of all the saloons in the United States were located in fourteen cities, and over 90 per cent. of the area of the United States was under Prohibition laws.

8—*There is a Wet majority today:*

The liquor propagandists abandon all rational basis of argument when they claim as foes of Prohibition those States which have not enacted the most stringent legislation against the liquor traffic. It is manifestly unfair to mention that "seven States had voted and had rejected Statewide prohibitory measures submitted to them," while ignoring the fact that practically all these States by a later vote (which in the cases of California and Massachusetts showed a remarkably large majority) reversed themselves and approved these Statewide prohibitory measures. It is also manifestly unfair when the Wets list as opposed to National Prohibition those States which had in their Constitutions laws against the manufacture and sale of liquor, but none against its importation for private use. Any one conversant with the Prohibition controversy should know that no State has power to interfere with interstate com-

merce. Because of that limitation of the power of the States, the Webb-Kenyon Act was passed, divesting intoxicating beverages of their rights in interstate commerce in States where the use of such beverages was unlawful. Such States can no more be included in a list of those opposed to the absolute prohibition of the Eighteenth Amendment than they could be listed as opposed to any other Federal policy over which their State laws had no authority. Actually, only two States have failed to speak positively upon this subject of National Prohibition. Those States were Rhode Island and Connecticut. Reference to the history of Connecticut would show that this State has ratified very few amendments to the Federal Constitution. Such inaction seems to be the custom of the State. Connecticut, however, did promptly pass statutes for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. So did Rhode Island.

9—*The great demand for liquor makes Prohibition enforcement impossible:*

The liquor traffic is unlike legitimate business in that the supply seems to precede the demand. Jack London, in his *John Barleycorn*, reminds us that "the great majority of habitual drinkers are born not only without desire for alcohol but with actual repugnance toward it. Not the first, nor the twentieth, nor the hundredth drink, succeeded in giving them the liking. But they learned, just as men learn to smoke; though it is far easier to learn to smoke than to learn to drink. They learned because alcohol was so accessible."

It was the activity of the "beer booster" and whisky dealer whose peddlers went through the countryside and through the small towns and cities in the Dry sections of the country, persuading folk to buy beverages whose sale was forbidden by the law, that made unavoidable the extension of Prohibition from the township, county or State to the nation. So long as there was a point of supply in a Wet section, the liquor group would invade the Dryest portion of the nation. Had the brewers, distillers and the wine men been content with trade in the license communities, and had they not insisted upon forcing their sales in districts which had voted against the saloon, there would probably be no National Prohibition today. They placed temptation

in the path of those who were seeking sobriety. They made inevitable that war of *l'outrance* which ended in the outlawry of the whole traffic in beverage intoxicants.

10—*The Eighteenth Amendment or the enforcement laws contain "a lie":*

Among the oft-repeated charges of the liquor element is that one which insists that there is "a lie" either in the Eighteenth Amendment or in the laws to enforce it. Since the purpose of the amendment was to prevent the beverage use of alcohol it is alleged that the amendment, if honest, should have forbidden the purchasing, receiving or drinking of intoxicants. Part of the problems connected with this charge has been discussed under Fallacy Number 1. The law does not directly forbid the drinking of intoxicating beverages, because there would be certain practical difficulties in the way of obtaining and presenting the legal proof of violation of such a law. Would a stomach pump be considered as the proper instrument to ascertain whether a suspected individual had broken the law? Should we call upon science to invent a method of breath analysis, whereby it might be judicially determined whether beverages consumed had passed the one-half per cent. intoxicating point? The Drys took the same course. By forbidding the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicants, they legislated against every method whereby lawful liquor might be provided for beverage use. The exclusion of sacramental wine from the prohibition was inevitable, since no one claims that the wine used in the sacrament is used as a beverage.

Another form taken by this fallacy is the charge that the standard of intoxicating beverages established by the National Prohibition Act is a lie, since many can drink liquors containing more than one-half of 1 per cent. alcohol without becoming intoxicated. That standard was established because it was a practical one. It has been in existence for many years. It was first established at the request of the brewers themselves, who desired that the standard might be so low that the tax-paying brewery trade would not suffer from competition with the non-taxpaying soft drink manufacturers. If this standard was proper to protect the brewer, what impropriety can there be in its present use to protect the



Harris & Ewing

ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON

people? As the law stands today there is no hazy borderland between the non-intoxicating and the intoxicating beverage. The division is so clear-cut that manufacturers, dealers, purchasers or enforcement officers need not be in doubt as to whether any suspected beverage comes within the law.

The Supreme Court has held that it is perfectly constitutional for legislation to prohibit beverages that are not alcoholic in any marked degree, but whose character is such that their prohibition might be necessary to secure adequate enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

11—*Enforcement laws are unconstitutional:*

Repeatedly it is asserted that various laws for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment are unconstitutional. The one absolute tribunal which determines the constitutionality of any measure in the United States is the Supreme Court of the United States. That court found constitutional the very measures which have been or are being assailed today by the brewers and wine men or their friends as unconstitutional.

12—*There is a revolution against Prohibition:*

The publicity representatives of the liquor group or their unpaid advocates frequently compare the liquor law violator of today to members of the Boston Tea Party, to framers of the Declaration of Independence or to others of that great army of martyrs and heroes who have raised the standard of revolt against tyranny and oppression. Revolution! Men have fought and died, but not for beer. To sneak into a speakeasy is not to join the hallowed band of patriots. To trade with a criminal in order to buy illegal intoxicants is not heroic revolution. The patrons of the bootleggers are sneaks, not martyrs. If they desire to rank themselves with the great exponents of liberty let them boldly, not sneakily, defy the law. Let them do it in such a way that their arrest may follow. Let them not quibble or delay the infliction of the penalty imposed upon them, but let them enter prison cells and pay the penalty for law violation. Then and only then can they claim recognition as martyrs. Until some trace of the heroic is displayed by these fanatics who would dissolve the nation's honor, prosperity and virtue in a glass of liquor, the American people at large will regard them simply as noisy cowards and sneaking dipsomaniacs.

13—*Arrests for drunkenness have increased since Prohibition:*

The most casual observer of conditions on our streets, about our public places, on trolley cars or trains, at conventions or other large gatherings of people, can see that where in former years scores of drunkards were a common nuisance, today one drunken man need only appear to become at once the centre of a curious crowd. The police, recognizing the change in the social attitude toward the drunkard, have greatly increased their severity. In spite of this increased severity, arrests for intoxication have greatly decreased throughout the country. Judge William M. Gemmell of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, probably the greatest authority on crime in America, estimates that our annual arrests for drunkenness today are about 300,000 fewer than in the average license year.

14—*Public drunkenness is less abroad than here:*

Stay-at-home Americans might be impressed by the statement that while Euro-

peans drink far more than Americans, public drunkenness is less abroad than here. The facts are that intoxication is a serious problem in every European country. Convictions for drunkenness per 10,000 population—not arrests, which were much more numerous, but merely convictions—in Greater London were as follows for the years given: 1922, 51; 1923, 50; 1924, 50; 1925, 49; 1926, 48. In Paris the arrests for drunkenness per 10,000 population were: 1922, 50.1; 1923, 54; 1924, 47.1. In Edinburgh the ratio per 10,000 was as follows: 1922, 92; 1923, 153; 1924, 86; 1925, 72. In New York City arrests for intoxication per 10,000 were: 1922, 14.81; 1923, 18.11; 1924, 18.34; 1925, 14.83; 1926, 14.25. In other words the convictions in London were about three times the number of arrests in New York City, while in many of the cities abroad such arrests ran from five to ten times the American ratio.

15—*We are drinking as much as ever:*

Before Prohibition we were consuming 1,880,000,000 gallons of beer, 167,000,000 gallons of whisky, 50,000,000 gallons of wine without counting various other intoxicating liquors. The transportation of these beverages from the maker to the ultimate consumer was one of the most important traffic problems before Prohibition. It is sheer nonsense to suggest that any considerable fraction of this enormous quantity of liquor could be made, transported and sold clandestinely. It simply cannot be done. Furthermore, the pre-Prohibition consumption of liquor amounted to 167,000,000 gallons of pure alcohol. Not even the most imaginative of the Wet group claim that 16,000,000 gallons of pure alcohol are contained in all the illicit beverages consumed in any dry year. That means at least a reduction of nine-tenths in the alcoholic consumption of the nation.

16—*Other taxes might be reduced if intoxicants were licensed and taxed:*

Economists agree that public revenue cannot be safely based on taxation of vice. All taxes are paid out of income ultimately. Under Prohibition the national income has greatly increased. Secretary Hoover has estimated that our productive efficiency has increased from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. because of prohibition. This national policy has added between \$6,000,000,000 and

\$10,000,000,000 per year to the income of the nation. If we once more legalized the sale of intoxicants before we can collect one dollar tax upon licenses we must deduct from our national income the billions of dollars added by Prohibition. It would be as unwise for this nation to restore the liquor traffic for the sake of a few dollars of revenue as it would be for us to imitate Japan by establishing a Yoshiwara with its licensed geisha girls; to permit the sale of cocaine, opium and heroin in return for a petty fee paid the Government; to give to gambling a legitimate status as a source of public revenue or to return to the days when towns and States raised their needed funds by the lottery. These expedients, all short-sighted, are no more uneconomic than the theory of licensing intoxicants for revenue. No nation can make a wholesale profit from the retail vices of its people.

17—*Prohibition is supported only by fanatics, bootleggers, politicians, or a favored class of Dry-voting, Wet-drinking people:*

There may be Dry fanatics, but it is some years since I have met any. Today fanaticism seems a characteristic of the Wet group rather than the Dry. It is hard to imagine Ford, Babson, Fisher, Gary or the late President Eliot as frenzied zealots or narrow-minded fanatics. The list of hundreds of leading Dry manufacturers in the survey made by the *Manufacturers' Record* of Baltimore does not read like a catalogue of bigots.

To rank the bootlegger as a supporter of Prohibition is as mad an idea as to rank the thief and the murderer as supporters of the Ten Commandments; less mad, in fact, since the Prohibition laws have been responsible for filling hundreds of prison cells with these same bootleggers.

Not merely politicians but genuine statesmen are upholders of the Prohibition law. The popular support of this policy expresses itself at each election by the defeat of more Wets and the election of more Dry candidates. In many States the people will not elect to public office any man who is suspected of lukewarmness toward the Prohibition cause. Naturally, therefore, the far-seeing politician, responsive to the public will, supports the cause of Prohibition.

The favored class does not exist under

Prohibition. The Eighteenth Amendment wiped out all distinctions. Before Prohibition industry was demanding total abstinence of the working men, while granting drinking privileges to the rich. There are some who would like to see that condition restored with its favored class. For instance, the Pennsylvania Railroad, under Rule G, forbids its employes to use intoxicants, with discharge as the penalty for violation of this rule. The name of the President of that company is on the list of a society that opposes the Eighteenth Amendment. If that society should achieve its purpose and repeal the amendment or its enforcing laws, then the favored class, including the Pennsylvania Railroad President, could legally obtain liquors, while many workmen of the nation, including the Pennsylvania Railroad employes, would be barred from beverage intoxicants by the Rhadamantine law of the companies for which they work.

18—*There should be some scientific determination of over-indulgence in intoxicants:*

The repeated suggestion that a commission be established to determine just what constitutes intoxication or to arrive at the least common multiple of drinking is merely a red herring drawn across the track of public sentiment. Scientific investigators have agreed that any indulgence in narcotic poisons is dangerous. All use of alcoholic beverages is misuse and abuse in a society so closely interrelated as ours.

19—*Prohibition has failed because it is violated:*

If this be true, then murder proves the failure of the laws against murder, then the Ten Commandments are a failure, then each arrest for violation of the traffic laws proves the folly of such regulation. Professor Thomas N. Carver of Harvard has well said:

If a Prohibition law were not difficult to enforce there would be no strong reason for having such a law—that is to say, if it were not difficult to enforce, it would argue there was no strong desire to drink liquor. The fact that there is such a widespread craving for liquor made it certain that there would be widespread and persistent efforts

to violate the law. But this widespread craving, when considered in connection with another fact, namely, that the general indulgence of this craving tends to unfit men for functioning in an interlocking civilization, furnishes a strong reason for a Prohibition law and a heavy expenditure for its enforcement.

20—*Modification of the law would promote sobriety:*

There is no greater fallacy than that contained in the repeated suggestions of the Wet group that, if the law were modified to permit the sale of beverages with higher alcoholic content than that allowed by the present National Prohibition act, sobriety would be promoted. Most of the proposals for modification of the law have suggested that the sale of beer be legalized once more. Beer was the principal alcoholic beverage consumed before Prohibition. Its slow, deadening, stupefying effects upon the mind and nervous centres were largely due to the fact that it contained a dangerous narcotic drug whose active principle was practically the same as that in hashish. The alcoholic appetites created by the drinking of even the lightest beers soon craved stronger stimulant. Even though this were not the case, the licensed sale of beer would be productive of far more harm than any other form of modification that has been suggested.

21—*Prohibition is responsible for corruption:*

The long, slimy trail of corruption by the brewers has been so well established by courts and by Congressional investigations that no additional reference to this is necessary now. Furthermore, no friends of Prohibition, no supporters of Prohibition, no observers of Prohibition have any part in whatever corruptions may still remain as our unwelcome legacy from the license era. The same type that corrupted the police, corrupted Magistrates, subsidized the press, boycotted business men and sought even to reach the Judges on the highest benches in the nation are guilty of repeated attempts to purchase the connivance of Federal Prohibition agents today. The leopard of the liquor trade has not changed its spots.



The Prohibition Movement in France

By HALLIE GROCE WOODS

GREEN posters appeared on the Paris streets announcing "*La Jeunesse veut La Guerre!*" (The Young Want War). The kind of war desired was set forth in the text; it was a war upon alcoholism, the enemy of the home, of health, morality and national economy. The objectives of the proposed offensive seemed to an American familiar with Anti-Saloon League methods to bear but a modest relation to the desired victory. They were: the prohibition of absinthe substitutes, the suppression of illicit distilling and a better regulation of the café bars. A mass meeting was announced for a few nights later. The Paris newspapers did not report it and the interests affected took no notice of the billboard challenge.

The organization behind the manifesto was nevertheless in earnest. That organization is La Ligue Nationale Contre l'Alcoolisme, which for decades has lifted its voice against the ravages of the demon rum. As indicated by its name, the association is not directed against a class of producers or dealers; it does not oppose the sale of all intoxicants; its single aim is the destruction of alcoholism.

The Paris headquarters of the League consist of six or eight rooms on the Boulevard St. Germain. Show windows containing pictures, bulletins and specimen tracts descriptive of the calamities charged to alcohol, attract and startle the passersby. Bottles of carbonated soft drinks and unfermented fruit juice are exhibited and recommended. Inside are tables displaying the League's publications; the walls are covered with lurid lithographs illustrating the havoc wrought by liquor.

The League claims a membership of 100,000, whose annual dues of 1,000,000 francs, or about \$40,000, form the essential part of its revenue. Donations from philanthropic French prohibitionists are few, because there are few who may be so classed, but some supplementary income is derived from the League's monthly reviews, and a rivulet of francs trickles in from the sale, at one cent and upward, of its tracts and pam-

phlets. A permanent Secretary General, assisted by a half dozen earnest women, carry on the propaganda and direct the provincial campaigns from the Paris head office.

The Secretary General is Monsieur Frédéric Rieman, the most prolific writer on temperance topics in France and a veteran crusader against the liquor traffic. He states that his society seeks above all else to influence the young, as the habits of adults are fixed. The League has the endorsement of the Government in spreading its educational tracts and vivid lithographs in the schools, the army and the navy. M. Rieman points with pride to the formation of 2,000 local branches among the adolescent in France, and to the abstinence pledge taken by 65,000 school children. This pledge, given with the consent of their parents, engages them to refrain entirely from spirituous liquors, and to use wine, beer and cider in moderation.

In its efforts to arouse the public to a true conception of the alcoholic peril, the League has the support of the Academy of Medicine and the National Federation of Sporting Societies.

What does the League find to complain of in France, the land of liberty and moderation? The statistics it cites give answer. Excluding wine, cider and beer, the consumption of alcoholic stimulants reached in 1913 the culminating figure of 43,220,000 gallons at 100 per cent., or an average of 1.11 gallons per inhabitant. After the sharp decline due to the war, the consumption rose to 26,779,949 gallons in 1925; this was equivalent to 0.68 gallons per individual in a population of 39,205,518. Adding 32 gallons of wine at 10 per cent. and 8.5 gallons of beer at 4 per cent., it follows that the total average annual consumption per capita of pure alcohol in France is 4.3 gallons, or a pint every ten days. This total places the country considerably ahead of Great Britain, Denmark and Belgium, although the amount of inebriety in these nations surpasses that in France. The Frenchman is not a hard drinker, but his steady daily

potions show the amount consumed by him during the year to surpass the amounts of the nationals of all other countries.

The consumption of strong drink in France, asserts the League, causes a loss of millions of working days per year. The League argues that if the French workingman were to save the daily cost, amounting to 8 cents, of a *petit verre*, or small glass of spirits, he would lay up security for himself and his family against sickness, unemployment, old age and premature death. To alcohol is charged the loss to the military forces of an army corps of recruits per annum, the enfeeblement of the once hardy Norman race and the decimation of the seafaring Bretons.

Dr. Jacques Bertillon, a noted statistician of the City of Paris and brother of the famous criminologist, declared that one of the two main causes of the low French birthrate was alcoholism. According to recent statistics published by the League of Nations, France is last in a list of 41 nations of Europe and America in the excess of births over deaths. Professor E. Caille asserts that 50 per cent. of the insane asylum inmates and 64 per cent. of the convicted lawbreakers in France were alcoholics before being confined. He further contends that habitual intemperance reduces the stature of the people, causes a decay in moral fiber and produces mental degeneration, all at a financial loss of two and one-half billion gold francs per year.

The number of authorized drinking places in France rose from 334,000 in 1879 to 469,176 in 1925, an increase of 40 per cent. for an 8 per cent. addition to the population. The present ratio is one saloon to eighty inhabitants, as compared with one to 246 in Germany, and one to 430 in England. Paris, with a population of 2,906,472, has 33,000 cafés and bars. The French Parliament decided over ten years ago that the saturation point had been reached, and passed a law prohibiting the opening of new saloons.

Liquor is also served at restaurants, hotels and night cabarets, and in unbroken packages it is sold by several hundred thousand groceries and liquor stores.

The single star in the League's legislative crown is the law of 1915 prohibiting the sale of absinthe. Under the pressure of the

war emergency, the French Parliament did not hesitate to strike down the traffic in this powerful stimulant, the consumption of which had tripled in seven years. Since then no serious effort has been made to remove the prohibition, and the conclusive report of the Academy of Medicine, which was a principal inducement to the action taken in 1915, stands as an effectual bar to any demand for reconsideration.

A general election of Deputies to the National Chamber took place in April, 1928. The League did not participate in the campaign for or against any candidate, as "it is absolutely and loyally neutral in political and religious matters." With the constitution of the new Chamber, however, it is redoubling its agitation for the adoption of its program of reforms.

ABSINTHE SUBSTITUTES

The suppression of absinthe, which rated as high as 68 per cent. of alcoholic content, has been followed since 1920 by the production of a dozen widely advertised and heavily consumed imitations, averaging 40 per cent. of pure alcohol. They have the pale green color of the forbidden libation, a more agreeable taste and the same odor. The new liquors contain anise seed and other aromatic essences but no wormwood, and the manufacturers claim that they lack the essential oils, notably absinthol, which produced the poisoning quality of the condemned beverage. The League argues, on the other hand, that the plant ingredients of the anise drinks permit the rapid absorption by the human system of an unusually large amount of alcohol, and that taken without food in the afternoon, as *apéritifs* are usually taken in France, these greenish liquors do infinite mischief to mind and body. In consequence, with the approval of the Academy of Medicine, the League urges the interdiction of these absinthe substitutes.

This reform, if successful, is to be reinforced by the abolition of other *apéritifs* having an alcoholic, as distinguished from a vinous, base. The program does not include, however, any interference with post-prandial liqueurs, for the Frenchman believes firmly that a tiny glass of *Bénédictine*, *Chartreuse* or old cognac taken after lunch or dinner aids digestion, and any



Café on a Paris sidewalk

Times Wide World

league which questions that belief will receive an expressive shrug of his shoulders. Furthermore, French liqueurs are almost as famous and as numerous as French vintages, and the industry enjoys a long-established, respected position. Imported rum and whisky come under the liberal classification of liqueurs, but gin, as a cocktail ingredient, would be dealt with as an *apéritif*.

By an act passed in 1916 Parliament permitted land occupants to distill for home use ten liters of pure alcohol per year. This was equivalent to 9.6 gallons of 40 per cent. liquor. Private distilleries increased from 778,028 in 1917 to 2,639,244 in 1925; and it is asserted that the present number is not far short of 3,000,000. The League charges gross abuse of the fiscal immunity granted through the manufacture on many farms of quantities far in excess of the exempt amount, the surplus being sold clandestinely, without payment of the usual tax of 50 cents per liter. M. Clemenceau is quoted as having said that this privilege "has made of all the farms of France as many domiciliary cabarets." The estimated loss in tax revenue is \$12,500,000 per year.

The League Against Alcoholism has appealed to the French fruit growers to utilize the products of their orchards and

berry patches for preserving in natural form, rather than for the manufacture of high power intoxicants. In Brittany apples are converted into a clear and powerful liquid called *Calvados*; in Alsace plums yield a 60 per cent. throat scorcher known as *Mirabelle*; at Paris orange peel is compressed into the bitter essence of *Amer Picon*, while the scraped oranges are sold from carts at 5 cents a dozen. In all parts of France apricots, peaches and cherries are used by the ton for the preparation of tempting brandies, and berries by the hundredweight go into the making of cordials, though much of the choice fresh fruit is exported to England.

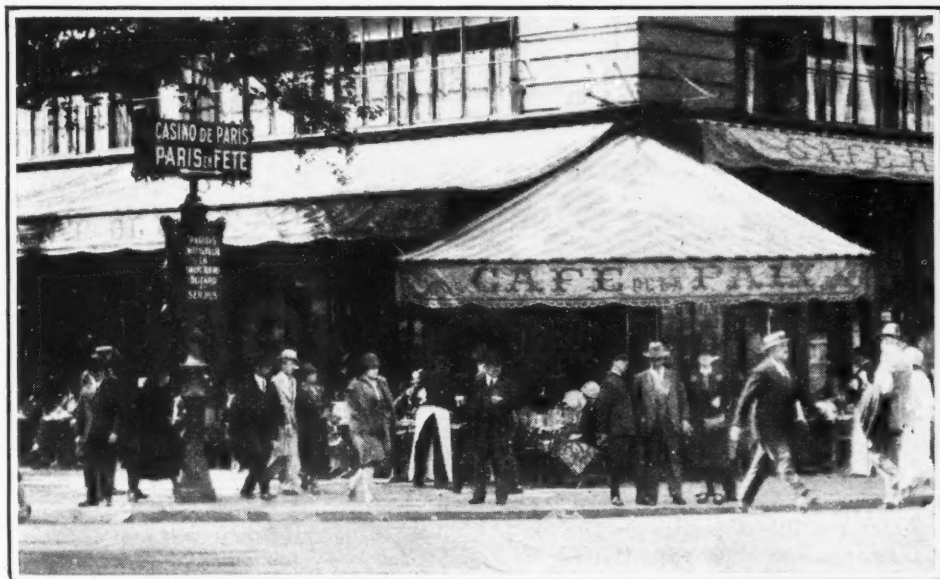
During the war period the League Against Alcoholism urged the exclusion of women and children from drinking places, but the proposal gained no headway and has fallen by the wayside. A strenuous opposition to the maintenance in saloons of roulette machines and other gambling devices met success in August, 1914. After the war, however, they were reinstated with a betting limit of 75 centimes (three cents). The League now advocates the separation of tobacco counters from the bars on the theory that the individual who enters to smoke may stay to drink. The ultimate success of this proposal is dubious.

The French policy regarding the liquor

traffic has been the reverse of that practiced in Sweden, Norway and, more recently, in Canada. It has treated the retail trade as nearly as possible like any other branch of commerce, leaving to the customer the control of his purchases and their use or abuse. The bars at Paris generally close between midnight and 1 A. M. every night in the week. On July 14 and other exceptionally festive dates they may, by prefectural permission, remain open all night. The day's trade begins at 4, 5 or 6 o'clock, according to the demand of the locality. Restaurants in France do not serve breakfast and the *petit déjeuner* of crescent rolls and coffee is taken by a myriad of workers in cafés and bars. At luncheon the influx of shop girls, clerks and laboring people generally, for the consumption of a sandwich and a cup of coffee or glass of beer, brings another rush hour to the saloon trade, with little or no demand for spirituous liquors. The café, which is a bar plus tables and chairs, commonly overflows upon the sidewalk; on Sunday and holiday afternoons a large proportion of French families enjoy the open air and a single drink in these social centers. Newspapers and writing paper are supplied at the cafés by polite waiters, and available games range from chess and checkers to billiards.

The free admission of women and children with adults, and the custom of employing a woman cashier tend to repress excessive drinking and unseemly conduct in the cafés.

An interesting point about the French prohibition League is that it is not "bone-dry"; it is more concerned about the possibility of reducing the alcoholic content of beverages below 23 per cent. than below 2.75 per cent. Beers of 4 per cent. and wines of from 10 to 18 per cent. are not within the purview of its activities. Prudence dictates that they should not be, for France is the land of the vine. It leads the world with an annual production of 1,500,000,000 gallons of wine, of which 25,000,000 gallons are sold abroad. The yearly harvest from its champagne cellars is 35,000,000 liter bottles of which 13,000,000 liters are exported. A careful estimate places at one-eighth the fraction of the French population who make their living directly from the industry and commerce in vinous, malt and spirituous liquors. The majority of these, who deal in the fermented product of the grape, and those who profit from malted hops, have nothing to fear from the League's activities and would doubtless join with it in its single admonition of temperance.



Copyright H. Armstrong Roberts

The famous Café de la Paix, Paris

The Problem of Muscle Shoals

With Introduction by the Secretary of Agriculture

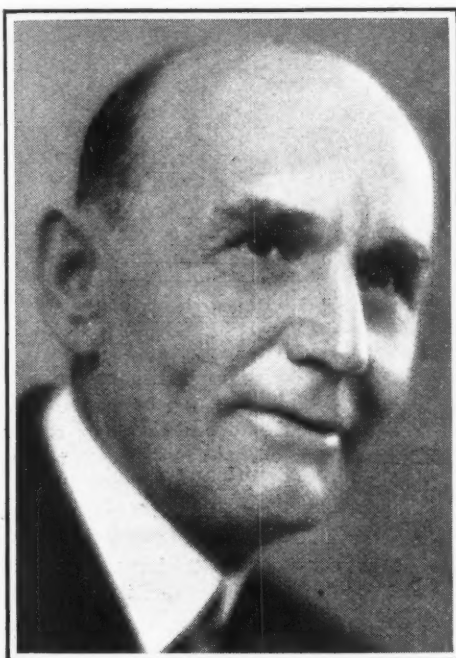
The Department of Agriculture considers the following article an honest and able effort to show the comparative importance of Muscle Shoals in the great problem of soil fertility in the United States. It is a brief, simple and forceful impression of the general situation, and is therefore a creditable article.

There are certain statements which might be questioned, as, for instance, that regarding the value of calcium cyanamid as fertilizer and the statement in regard to the cost of the project. The total of \$150,000,000 is sufficient to cover the cost of the two nitrate plants and Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals and also two other nitrate plants in Ohio, which were under construction at the time of the Armistice in 1918. United States Nitrate Plant No. 2, with annual capacity for 40,000 tons of nitrogen, cost approxi-

mately \$67,500,000, and the total cost of the dam and two nitrate plants in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals has been about \$130,000,000. The statement in regard to the nitrogen required by growing crops is essentially correct, as is that in regard to the proportion that might be supplied from Muscle Shoals. Although most of the facts given in this paper have been previously presented, they apparently are not generally understood and therefore will stand repeating.

There seems to be no special significance connected with the reference to the Haber process. It is the leading nitrogen fixation process, and its various modifications are in use throughout the world. The process is one that is universally known and there could be no purpose of publicity behind its mention.

W. M. JARDINE



Harris & Ewing

WILLIAM M. JARDINE
United States Secretary of Agriculture

I—\$150,000,000 for Nitrogen Extraction

By ROBERT STEWART
UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

DURING the war the United States Government commenced the construction of a manufacturing plant at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, for the purpose

of obtaining combined nitrogen from the inexhaustible supply of free nitrogen in the atmosphere. This plant is now completed and has cost the Government approximately

\$150,000,000. The construction of the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, on the Tennessee River, in connection with this plant has developed 100,000 horse power of electric energy.

The future operation of this plant, constructed with the taxpayers' money, has been a live political question ever since the Armistice was signed and is still before Congress without apparently any hope of immediate solution. Originally the intention was to use this cheap source of energy for the chemical fixation of atmospheric nitrogen largely by the calcium cyanamide process. The Government's officials planned to provide the combined nitrogen produced by the Muscle Shoals plant for the manufacture of munitions of war when so needed and for the production of fertilizer during times of peace. The various proposals regarding the future disposition of the Muscle Shoals plant have created general interest in the nitrogen problem as it affects agriculture.

A CHEMICAL ENGINEERING PROBLEM

For the scientific conception regarding the necessity of getting combined nitrogen from the air for use in fertilizer we perhaps could not do better than to quote from the presidential address by Sir William Crookes, the well-known British chemist, before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1898: "The fixation of nitrogen is vital to progress of civilized humanity. * * * The fixation of nitrogen is a question of the not far distant future. Unless we can class it among certainties to come the great Caucasian race will cease to be foremost in the world and will be squeezed out of existence by races to whom wheaten bread is not the staff of life." The problem which seemed so remote and difficult to Sir William Crookes twenty-nine years ago has been solved by chemical science and the artificial fixation of free atmospheric nitrogen is now a reality.

There are five distinct processes now available for this purpose. (1) The Haber process, whereby hydrogen and nitrogen are combined under the influence of the electric spark, high temperature, high pressure and the influence of certain metals called catalytic agents; (2) the calcium cyanamide process; (3) the direct oxidation of nitrogen

and hydrogen by electric energy; (4) the formation of nitrides and (5) the cyanide process.

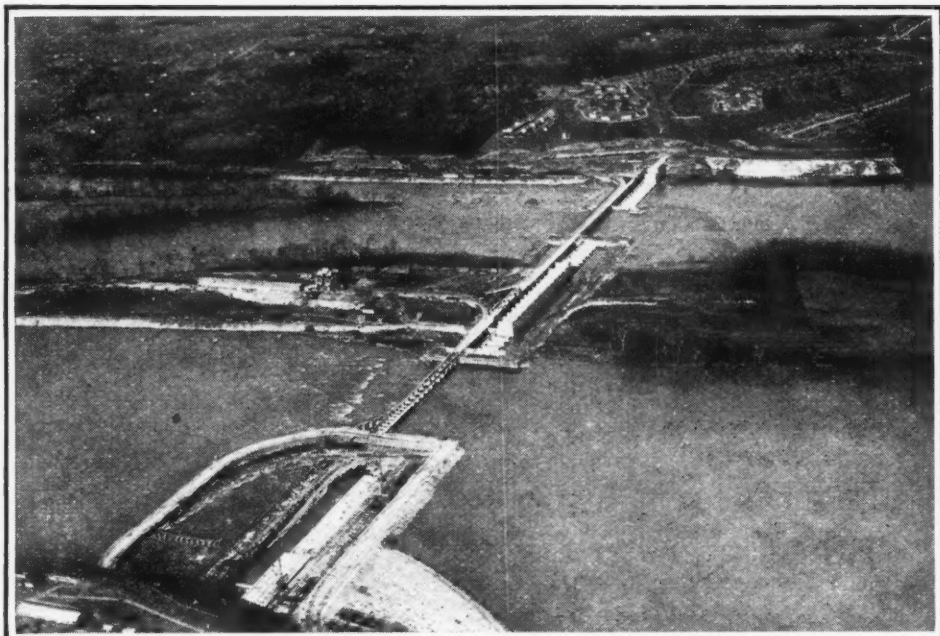
The Haber process is undoubtedly the most important because of the ease of manipulation and the relative cheapness of the necessary materials. It is the method so successfully developed in Germany during the war period and is one of the processes originally designed for use at the Muscle Shoals plant in Alabama. The major process proposed at Muscle Shoals, however, is the cyanamide process. This process a few years ago seemed to offer great possibilities, *but it is now regarded as practically obsolete for nitrogen fixation for agriculture.* The successful production of combined nitrogen in America by either of these processes is purely a chemical engineering problem and is undoubtedly easily capable of solution. Can the nitrogen be produced



ROBERT STEWART

cheaply enough by either of these processes to warrant its use in agriculture?

The question whether or not the combined nitrogen produced by chemical fixation is needed or should be used in agriculture is entirely an agricultural question and will



The Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals and the construction camp, untenanted since the war, as viewed from an airplane looking across the Tennessee River

be answered partially by the market price of the air nitrogen in comparison with nitrogen which the farmer may obtain from other sources and in part by the value of the increased crop produced by its use. The economic possibility of producing nitrogen by chemical fixation in quantities to affect materially the problem at all is also worthy of serious consideration. But it is necessary to have complete knowledge regarding (1) the requirements of agriculture for nitrogen; (2) the effect of nitrogen on crop growth; (3) the sources of combined nitrogen available for the farmer's use; and (4) the comparative price of the nitrogen from these several sources of supply.

Nitrogen is used by all growing plants. When crop plants are grown and used for food the removal of nitrogen from the soil is really enormous, and its practical economic restoration is the most important practical problem confronting agriculture in the solution of soil fertility problems. When nitrogen is purchased in commercial fertilizers it is the most expensive plant food present, and its use is frequently prevented because the value of the increased crop is not sufficient to pay the cost of the

fertilizer and also yield a profit to the farmer. A cheap source of nitrogen would go a long way in solving some of the farmer's economic problems and enable him to reduce his cost of production very materially.

An insight into the requirements of agriculture for nitrogen may be obtained by considering the total yield of the five common farm crops, corn, oats, wheat, cotton and potatoes, and the nitrogen required to produce them in any one year. Such data for the year 1923 is recorded in tabular form below:

	Pounds of Nitrogen Per 100 Bushels.	Total Yield 1923.	Pounds of Nitrogen Required.
Corn	100	3,054,395,000	3,054,395,000
Oats	66	1,299,823,000	866,448,666
Wheat	142	785,740,000	1,000,036,000
*Cotton	1½	*10,281,000	15,421,500
Potatoes ...	31	412,392,000	82,078,200
			5,018,379,366

*The data for cotton is recorded as bales of 500 pounds. The other yields are recorded as bushels.

Since 2,509,139 tons of nitrogen are required to produce these five common farm crops, it is readily seen that the requirements of agriculture are enormous. Consider, for example, the requirements for

nitrogen of the corn crop alone. The 3,054,395,000 bushels of corn produced in the United States in 1923 actually removed from the soil one pound of nitrogen for each bushel of corn grown, i. e., 3,054,395,000 pounds of nitrogen or 1,547,196 tons of nitrogen required to produce the corn crop alone in any given year. It is estimated that the Muscle Shoals plant is capable of producing 40,000 tons of combined nitrogen a year. That is, it would take thirty-eight such plants to produce enough nitrogen for the corn crop alone, and corn is only one of the twelve major crops in the United States. There are in addition the nitrogen requirements of thousands of other minor crops, and the Muscle Shoals plant has cost the Government \$150,000,000!

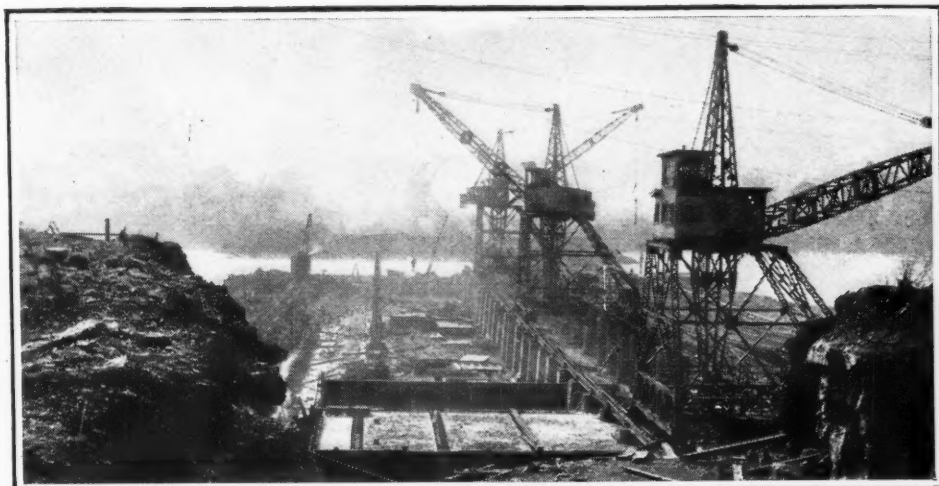
The effect of nitrogen on crop growth is also very marked. A deficiency of nitrogen in the soil is made readily manifest by stunted growth of the plant, unhealthy appearance and a decreased yield. Perhaps the same data from the Rothamsted Experimental Farm in England will demonstrate the effect of nitrogen on the yield of wheat better than anything which may be said:

Plot No.	Treatment.	Yield of Wheat as Bushels Per Acre.
5.....	No nitrogen	18.3
6.....	43 pounds per acre	28.6
7.....	86 pounds per acre	37.1
8.....	129 pounds per acre	39.0
16.....	172 pounds per acre	39.0

Since the average yield of wheat in the United States in 1923 was 13.5 the effect of nitrogen on wheat production is obvious.

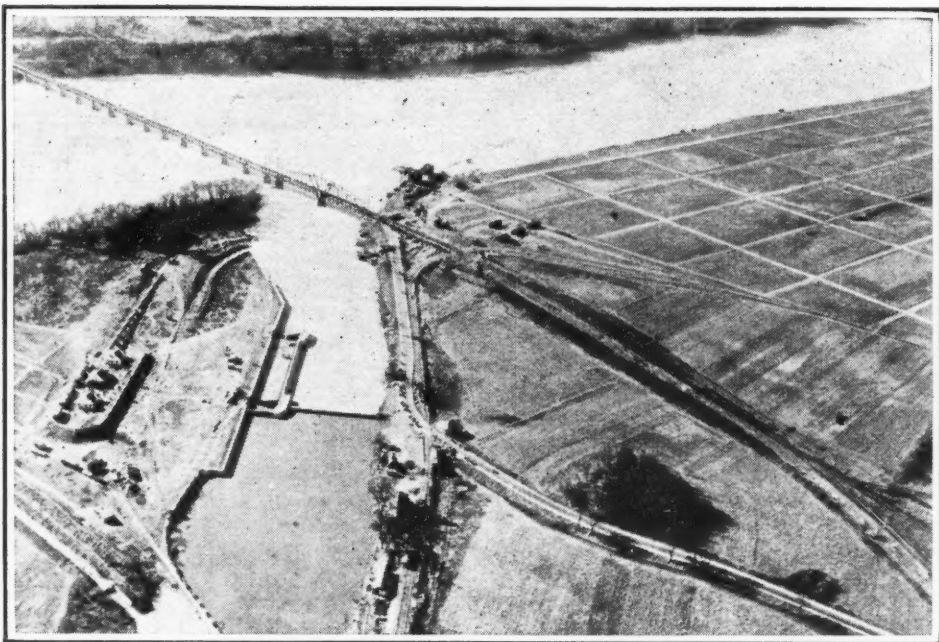
Many fruit growers in certain sections of the country feel that nitrogen is the only fertilizer that they really need add to the soil in the successful production of fruit, and if it could be obtained in a suitable form and at a low enough cost it would be of great value to the fruit producer.

A consideration of the possible sources of nitrogen available for use in agriculture necessitates careful attention being paid to the original nitrogen supply of the soil and a full realization of how this combined soil nitrogen was originally obtained from the free nitrogen of the atmosphere. The nitrogen content of the soil varies greatly and depends on the type of soil and its treatment by man under cultivation. A typical arid soil of the Far East contains 500 pounds of nitrogen per plowed acre; a typical Corn Belt soil, such as the brown silt loam, contains 2,000 pounds per plowed surface, while the characteristic very productive bottom lands of the Corn Belt contain 5,000 pounds per plowed surface. This nitrogen represents the farmer's reserve which has accumulated in the soil throughout the ages by the bacterial fixation of free atmospheric nitrogen either with or without the aid of legumes and also in a small measure by the addition of combined



Keystone

A photograph taken about seven years ago of the Wilson Dam, Florence, Ala., part of the Muscle Shoals project



Muscle Shoals—the locks upstream

nitrogen in rain and snowfall obtained by natural electric fixation in the atmosphere.

The soil nitrogen is mostly in an unavailable organic form and is only slowly made available by natural processes for the use of our economic crops. It is constantly being replenished by natural means which may be materially augmented under a proper system of farm management. In a state of nature the natural process of nitrogen fixation by the soil bacteria, electric discharges in the air are sufficient, not only to meet the requirements of the native vegetation, but actually to build up a nitrogen reserve in the soil. The breaking up of the natural sod, however, results in a more rapid decomposition of the soil organic nitrogen with a large loss by leaching in the drainage water.

Modern civilization also is a disturbing factor. The concentration of large populations in the cities requires the production of food on the farm and its shipment to these centres of population and the crops, produced at the expense of the soil nitrogen reserve built up laboriously throughout the ages, are consumed in the cities and the nitrogen is wantonly wasted through our modern sewers. The nitrogen content of

the human solid and liquid excreta of the world's population amounts to 8,000,000 tons of nitrogen annually. In the United States alone this loss amounts to 450,000 tons. The sources of nitrogen available for supplying the needs of agriculture are such as leguminous plants, particularly when used as crop residues or green manures; barnyard manure, human waste and other waste materials such as fish scraps, by-products of the packing plants, Chile saltpetre and ammonium sulphate derived as a by-product in the production of coke from coal.

USE OF CHILE SALTPETRE INCREASING

The amount of Chile saltpetre used by agriculture of course varies from year to year, but is slowly increasing. The annual consumption of nitrogen by the fertilizer industry, as an average of the five-year period from 1910 to 1914, was 522,939 tons of Chile saltpetre, containing 78,441 tons of actual nitrogen. The amount actually produced during the same period was 2,488,000 tons, equivalent to 372,450 tons of actual nitrogen. Various estimates regarding the amount of nitrate present in the Chilean deposits have been made, one by the Nitrate

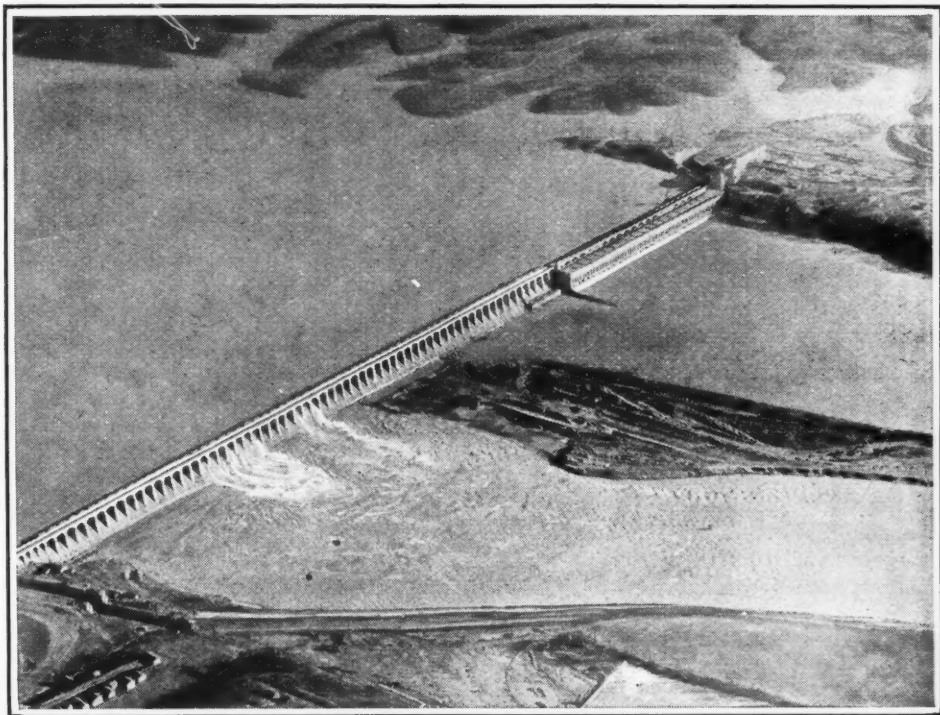
Association being 720,000,000 tons, sufficient to last at the present rate of consumption for 300 years. There is also the possibility of further discoveries being made in the future, not only in Chile, but also in other parts of the world, particularly in arid regions. It must be remembered, however, that the nitrogen in Chile saltpetre is very expensive, partly on account of the fact that the Chilean Government places an export duty of slightly over \$10 per ton on nitre. The American farmer, therefore, actually pays a tax of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents to the Chilean Government for every pound of nitrogen he uses from this source. Any possible release from this form of taxation would be welcome to American agriculture.

FERTILIZER FROM COAL

The amount of nitrogen derived from coal and placed upon the market as ammonium sulphate has increased very materially in recent years. Nitrogen is obtained from coal as a by-product in the production of coke or illuminating gas. In 1910 there were 116,000 tons of ammonium sulphate,

containing 23,200 tons of nitrogen, produced in the United States. In 1924 there were 595,000 tons of ammonium sulphate produced, containing 139,000 tons of nitrogen, or four times the amount which the Muscle Shoals plant will produce when in active operation. The possibility of increasing the amount of nitrogen from this source is very good indeed and will be brought about by increasing the amount of coal which is coked in by-product ovens, the increased demand for coke, and improved methods of recovering the nitrogen when coal is coked whereby the yield of nitrogen will be materially increased. The price of the nitrogen obtained from this source is largely determined by the established price of nitrogen in Chile saltpetre.

The production of combined nitrogen at the Muscle Shoals plant offers very little relief for the nitrogen problems confronting the American farmer. The amount which can be procured there, even with the large investment already made, is small in comparison with the actual requirements of agriculture. Consider, for example, the



The Wilson Dam from downstream

maximum possible production of 40,000 tons of nitrogen at Muscle Shoals with the 1,547,196 tons required by the corn crop alone. This amount is also so small in comparison with the nitrogen available from other sources that it will not affect the market price in a material way.

The form of nitrogen obtained by the principal part of the Muscle Shoals plant is calcium cyanamide, which is entirely unsuited for use in agriculture as a fertilizer. It cannot be used in mixed fertilizers because of undesirable changes produced, is disagreeable to handle and has a poor physical condition. The nitrogen contained in the cyanamide can readily be converted into ammonia, but only at an added expense, so that the hope of a cheap form of nitrogen

from this source becomes only an impossible dream.

At the present time the Haber process for the chemical fixation of free nitrogen offers the only possibility of a chemical source of cheap nitrogen. This process is not dependent on a vast source of electric energy such as offered at Muscle Shoals, but more upon a cheap source of hydrogen, such as the hydrogen produced from coal in the production of coke and now largely wasted, because it is used inefficiently as a cheap fuel. The development of the Haber process in connection with coke production does offer promise for the future. The price of the nitrogen obtained by this process is largely a matter for the future to determine.

II—Possibilities of the Completed Plant

By GEORGE W. NORRIS

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEBRASKA

THE importance of cheap fertilizer cannot be overestimated. It is a question in which every person has a direct interest. Its importance applies with practically equal effect upon the people of every civilized nation. It is too often considered exclusively a farmer's problem. Agriculture, it is true, has a direct interest in the subject, but those who produce the food of the world should have, and are entitled to have, a profit upon their activities; and if the production of the food is increased by expensive fertilizer those who consume must in the end pay the bill.

A properly mixed fertilizer must have in it three necessary chemical ingredients, nitrogen, phosphorus and potash. The most expensive of these ingredients is nitrogen. It happens that nitrogen is not only a necessary ingredient of fertilizer but it is used in the manufacture of all kinds of explosives.

We have been dependent for many years upon Chile for the supply of our nitrogen. Chile has taken advantage of our necessity. She charges quite a large export duty upon this article. As a matter of fact I believe it is admitted that for every pound of nitro-

gen used in fertilizer we must pay to the Chilean Government between 3 and 4 cents.

The atmosphere, however, contains an inexhaustible supply of nitrogen, and for many years the scientific men of the world have been experimenting upon its extraction. The first method of getting nitrogen from the atmosphere was known as the arc process. It was quite expensive and required large amounts of power. Later on the cyanamide process was invented. It cheapened the process to a considerable degree and required much less power. Later on another process, known as the Haber process, was invented. This cheapened the extraction of nitrogen from the atmosphere far below the cyanamide process and required a comparatively small amount of power.

We began our operations at Muscle Shoals as one of our war activities. The purpose was, in the main, to make ourselves independent of Chile in the supply of nitrogen which we required, and to build a plant there for the purpose of getting nitrogen for explosives in time of war, as well as to secure nitrogen in time of peace for the manufacture of fertilizer.

We constructed Nitrate Plant No. 2, capable of producing 40,000 tons of nitrates a year by the cyanamide process. We constructed also Plant No. 1, a much smaller plant, for the purpose of experimenting under the Haber process. At this time our scientific men did not understand the Haber process, and it was not until after the war that the intricacies of that process became known in America. There are many modifications of this process, each new plan improving upon the old, with the general term "synthetic process" applying to all these modifications. The result of it all has been that our chemical engineers, by study and experiment, have cheapened the process of extracting nitrogen from the air until its costs, in round numbers, about half what it did before the war. Each improvement and cheapening of the process has used less and less power, until, at the present time, power is only an incident and is necessary mainly for the operation of the machinery.

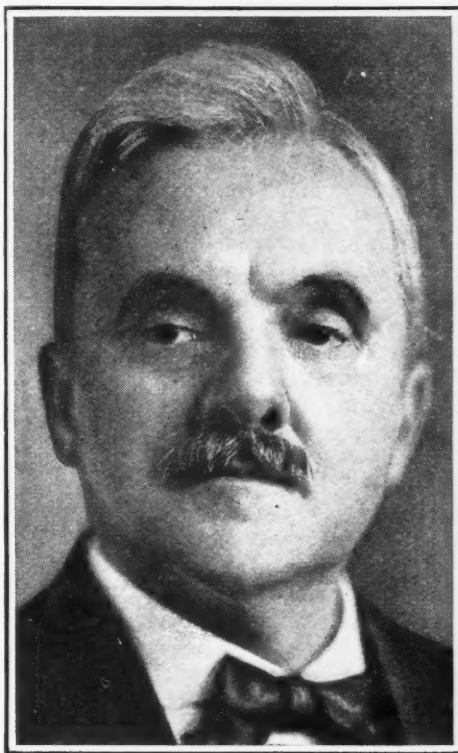
MUSCLE SHOALS PROCESS OBSOLETE

It is fair, I think, to say that the cyanamide process, which we established at Muscle Shoals, is now obsolete. If we were selecting a location today to build a plant for the extraction of nitrogen from the atmosphere we would not select Muscle Shoals. Instead of power being the predominating consideration, cheap coal is the most important thing. In a way, it is the raw product of the process.

For experimental purposes, however, it is not so important that the plant be located at the mouth of a coal mine. The exact cost of coal at Muscle Shoals can be definitely considered in the problem, so that the cost, at this particular point, is not so material. Whatever experiments are performed there can be definitely applied to any location where coal is cheap.

Although the cost of extracting nitrogen from the air has been greatly reduced in price, it is, nevertheless, still an intricate problem. It is susceptible of much improvement, and scientific men all over the world are still experimenting.

But the question of fertilizer is much broader than the nitrate part of it. The mixing of the fertilizer ingredients, under our present knowledge of the subject, re-



Harris & Ewing

GEORGE W. NORRIS
United States Senator from Nebraska

quires what is known as a "carrier," and this adds very greatly to the cost of fertilizer to the farmer. Freight alone is one of the very important items. Ordinary fertilizer, as applied to the soil by the farmer, contains but a small proportion of plant food. The most of it is common, ordinary dirt, used as a "carrier" for the purpose of uniting the three fertilizer ingredients. It is quite evident that there is a world of opportunity for improvement in cheapening fertilizer, not only in cheapening the cost of the production of nitrogen, the most expensive fertilizer ingredient, but in the method of mixing and preparing these fertilizer ingredients for the soil.

The cost of a plant and the machinery to extract nitrogen from the air is very expensive. The investigation necessary in making proper experiments in mixing and applying fertilizer likewise costs a great deal of money, and it is quite apparent, if we would cheapen fertilizer, that these va-

rious processes must be simplified and their costs reduced. Experiments, therefore, on a large and expensive scale, are necessary. Private individuals engaged in the fertilizer business cannot afford to take the risk in these experiments. The experiment may fail and the investment be lost, and, since all classes, both producers and consumers, are alike interested in a cheaper fertilizer, it becomes clear that it is one of the proper functions of government to use public funds for the purpose of making these experiments. If new methods are discovered or old ones cheapened, the entire world will get the benefit; whereas, if such an improvement were made by a private individual, he would, of course, patent his process and thus, to a great extent, people generally would be deprived of the benefit that would come from such a cheapening process.

It was the design of the framers of the original Muscle Shoals act that the great plant there should be used for explosives in time of war and for the manufacture of fertilizer in time of peace. Since new investigation has made the process then established (the cyanamide process) obsolete, and since much cheaper and more scientific methods are now known to exist, it would be the height of folly to use this plant to get nitrogen from the air for fertilizer purposes when it would be known in advance that the fertilizer then produced would cost more than it can be bought for today upon the market.

EXPERIMENTAL VALUE A NATIONAL ASSET

The important thing, from a broad, patriotic sense, would be for the Government to use its great properties at Muscle Shoals for experimentation in the extraction of nitrogen from the atmosphere, and likewise for experimentation in the entire fertilizer question, with the object in view of cheapening the entire process and thus increasing the productivity of the land and thereby lessening the cost of food.

The bill which recently passed Congress and which the President declined to approve provided for this very thing. It provided for the sale of power and the use of the funds in fertilizer experiments. It provided for increased and up-to-date experiments with a view to cheapening the extraction of nitrogen from the atmosphere.

It did this on a broad scale, the broadest and most extensive that has ever been attempted in the civilized world.

It must be apparent that the benefit in the fertilizer line that will come to the country from Muscle Shoals operations will not be in the amount of fertilizer or fertilizer material produced there, but in the cheapening and simplification of the process. It would be of but little benefit to the country if the Government made fertilizer at Muscle Shoals on a large scale and made no attempt to cheapen its production. From that plant, under the present knowledge of the art, it could supply only a scope of country within a radius of two or three hundred miles of Muscle Shoals. The balance of the country, while paying its part of the bill, would get no benefit from the expenditure of the money. If, on the other hand, the Government will use the income from the sale of power at Muscle Shoals for the cheapening of the various processes involved in the fertilizer question, the entire country will secure the benefit.

The bill referred to, however, which Congress passed, did not stop at fertilizer. It went further to make the Tennessee River navigable than any law ever put on the statute books. It provided for the construction by the Government of Cove Creek Dam, not primarily to produce power, but to control and make navigable the Tennessee River and to a great extent assist in controlling the flood waters even of the Mississippi River. The reservoir at Cove Creek Dam is perhaps the largest natural reservoir east of the Mississippi River. This dam would have impounded 3,500,000 acre feet of water. Under no circumstances should the Government permit this dam to be built by private parties for the purpose of developing power. It is primarily a flood control proposition, and while there will be a large amount of power developed there, it is of small and secondary importance when considered with the question of the navigability of the Tennessee River and the flood control question. If a private corporation built Cove Creek Dam it would permit the reservoir to fill up and then let it remain full, because in this way it would produce the largest amount of primary horsepower and would thus bring in the largest financial return. It would, how-

ever, in such case, be of no value so far as either the navigability of the Tennessee River or the controlling of the flood waters of the Mississippi Valley is concerned. If we want to control the navigability of the river and floods generally, we must empty the reservoir when the river is low and hold all the water during the flood season. In this way, we would lower the river when it is high and raise it when it is low, thus equalizing its flow and making it navigable all of the time. Therefore, it follows that the Government should construct this dam and utilize it as a navigation and flood control proposition.

Incidentally, the Government would not be a financial loser in this operation, because the Government already owns Dam No. 2, which has a primary horsepower of a little less than 100,000, and there are times in some seasons when enough water goes over that dam to produce 1,000,000 horsepower. By the construction of Cove Creek Dam and the utilization of the reservoir waters thus impounded, we would increase the water flowing over Dam No. 2 when the river is low and decrease it when the river is high, and our Government engineers tell us that in this manner we would practically double the amount of primary horsepower at Dam No. 2. We would get a large amount of power when we were letting the water out at Cove Creek Dam. This power would be secondary power, because there would be no power generated there when the reservoir was empty or nearly empty, but the large quantity of power produced at Cove Creek would coincide in season with the smaller production at Dam No. 2, and thus we would be enabled to convert a large portion of the secondary power at Dam No. 2 into primary power by using the two dams in conjunction.

ADVANTAGES OF VETOED BILL

Taking it all together, therefore, we would double the value of the property that the Government already possesses. We would make the Tennessee River navigable. We would assist very materially in controlling the flood waters of the Mississippi River and we would, in addition, generate a large amount of additional power which now goes to waste. The bill provided that the sale of this power should be used for

the purpose of experimentation in the fertilizer field. While thus giving to the South the cheapest transportation in the world and developing to an increased degree some of her natural resources, it would give not only to the South but to the entire country whatever knowledge is gained by the experimentation that takes place, not only in the extraction of nitrogen from the air but in all the questions that pertain to and are connected with fertilizer. In addition to all this it would show to the entire country what can be done in the way of developing cheap power upon the streams of the country when such development takes place in connection with navigation and flood control.

MENACE OF ELECTRICAL MONOPOLY

Recent developments by the Federal Trade Commission have shown that there is a giant monopoly in the generation and distribution of electric current, gradually spreading itself over the entire country. It has entered our schools and our homes. It has been working silently and stealthily to poison the minds of our school children. It has entered into the politics of the country from the school district to the White House. It has undertaken to buy seats in the United States Senate. It has made an attempt to control all the avenues of publicity. It has even reached its fingers into the Church and undertaken to subsidize the men who preach to us from the pulpit on the Sabbath Day.

This bill would have established a milestone in human progress. It would have set up in a key position a signboard that could have been read by all men showing what it costs to generate and distribute electricity to our factories and our homes. It would have given the municipalities in several States an opportunity to put into the homes of their people electricity at such a price that it would have been impossible for any trust or any combination permanently to hold prices at an unreasonable limit. It would have done harm to no legitimate industry. Its proceeds would have gone to cheapen the cost of living for every human being in civilization, and thus add to the happiness and contentment not only of the farmer who produces but of the consumer who consumes.

Prayer Book Revision in England

By RAYMOND TURNER

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN the past year the Church of England has been troubled with confusion greater than during the Oxford Movement or in the time of the non-jurors after 1688, almost as much, perhaps, as when it was re-established after 1660. For some time discipline has been lax and unenforced; many hundreds of the clergymen disregard regulations; others interpret them as they please; many of the clergy and the laymen repudiate old doctrines; others insist that different and older doctrines be restored. Efforts to reconcile factions have failed. Twice a revised prayer book embodying compromise and conciliation has been rejected by Parliament, which possesses control over this State Church. In despair the aged primate has thought of resigning. It becomes increasingly possible that the church may be disestablished.

The explanation concerns not only members of the Church of England, but Episcopalians and others elsewhere. It must be sought in a number of factors. First in importance is a movement which religious conservatives and mystical devotees, known as Anglo-Catholics, conceive as a return to the true spirit of the Episcopal Church in England, which has been obscured or partly obliterated, they believe, by errors or work of religious radicals in the past. Opponents, however, think of this movement as a stealthy return to Roman Catholicism, from which the Reformation, they say, set their forefathers free. Secondly, there is, as in other churches, a modernist faction which does not believe in many of the church doctrines and older ideas, which holds that outworn dogmas in evident conflict with accepted scientific and philosophical knowledge ought to be abandoned, and that the constitution of the church, the Thirty-nine Articles, should be revised. Generally speaking, the crisis in church affairs has not arisen from anything done by this group, save from their opposition to Anglo-Catholics. Third must be reckoned the peculiar history and constitution of the Church of England, essen-

tially a compromise church since the sixteenth century, with some doctrines purposely left undefined or obscure. No idea of the conflict, indeed, can be had without knowledge of the origin of the church and of some of its doctrines.

It has been a subject for endless disputes, with much for either contention, whether until the middle of the sixteenth century the Christian Church in England was part of the Catholic Church under the Pope at Rome, or whether at first it was an independent church deriving from the Catholic Church established by Christ and His apostles, afterward brought under the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and later at the time of the Reformation reasserting the old independence that had been usurped, but never destroyed. In practice, however, all through the Middle Ages the church in England was a part of the Roman Catholic Church; there was seldom any English dissent from doctrines which Popes or church councils stated; and all through that time there were not many in England who did not accept the sacraments of that church.

The most important of these sacraments was the Lord's Supper. According to Saint Matthew, when Jesus partook of the Passover Feast before the crucifixion, He took bread and shared it with His disciples, saying, "Take, eat, this is My body," and giving them the cup, "Drink ye, for this is My blood." Afterward Christians celebrated the rite of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, as a ceremony that brought the worshiper into close communion with God. Church authorities explained what the church understood to take place during this communion; and it may be said that differences of belief about the Lord's Supper have divided Christian sects more than almost anything else.

The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church—and also of the Greek Catholic Church—was that during the ceremony of the mass the bread and the wine, because of a miracle wrought by God through the

agency of the officiating priest, underwent transubstantiation or change of substance respectively into the body and the blood of Christ, church authorities taking thus in literal sense what the writers of the Gospels had written. It should be noticed that Roman Catholics, following a medieval philosophical doctrine, and thus answering the criticisms of heretics and skeptics, maintained that the transubstantiation concerned not the "accidents" or apparent qualities of the bread and wine, but the "substance" or very essence thereof. Transubstantiation came to be one of the cardinal doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith, and during the Middle Ages it was seldom attacked. In the fourteenth century, however, the Englishman Wiclif rejected it, substituting therefor the "receptionist" idea that Christians receive the Lord's body only spiritually.

THE REFORMATION

During the sixteenth century the Roman Catholic Church lost most of its adherents in the northern countries through what participants called the Protestant Reformation. The Protestants divided into several sects because of doctrinal divergences and various local events. Luther, who believed that there was no basic distinction between clergy and laity, and who was hence opposed to the idea that a miracle was wrought at the mass through priestly office, nevertheless took literally the words, "This is My body," "this is My blood," and affirmed the "real presence" of Christ in the elements of the communion. He said that the communicant receiving the bread and the wine did partake of Christ's body and blood, not from transubstantiation, but consubstantiation or coexistence of substances. Christ, who was God, was everywhere; His body and His blood were everywhere; the communicant receiving in faith sacramental bread and wine received also the Lord's body and blood. Calvin, who taught the doctrine of "virtualism," asserted also the real presence of body and blood in the communion, not through the Roman transubstantiation nor the Lutheran consubstantiation, but through a real presence in the sacramental elements of the Divine body and blood for the faithful in non-dimensional virtue or power. On the

other hand Zwingli, the Swiss leader, departed much further from the old doctrine, declaring that the communicant partook only of bread and wine, which were signs of body and blood not present, the sacrament being a memorial service merely, during which the worshiper was brought into renewed spiritual communion with Christ. His doctrine spread far beyond Switzerland, and was later accepted by many Calvinists and others.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A reformation took place also in England. Henry VIII (1509-1547) severed relations with the Pope, who had refused to void the King's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, seized monastic property, and made himself head of the church. But most Englishmen remained Roman Catholics, so far as religion went, and Henry himself undertook no important doctrinal change. Under Edward VI (1547-1553) a radical minority caused the Government to establish Protestant teachings, but the old religion was kept by the mass of the people. Under Mary Tudor (1553-1558) the Government reestablished Roman Catholicism and restored the connection with Rome. Her sister, Elizabeth (1558-1603), who was interested in the intellectual ideas of the Renaissance rather than in the dogmas of the Reformation, again separated the Church of England from Rome, but cautiously avoided offending the multitude of her subjects who supported her for patriotic reasons. So there was no religious persecution under Elizabeth. Doctrines and church observances were left undefined, or else loosely and ambiguously defined to be acceptable to various groups. With respect to religion the reformation in England was no violent movement, and the result was a compromise church. Many of the old rites, ceremonies and observances were kept, so that to more ardent Protestants the Church of England seemed much like the Church of Rome. Changes in doctrine were made and ideas taken over from Luther and from Zwingli, but no radical break was apparent. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper developed, was left not clearly stated, and was understood differently by different people within the church. Transubstantiation was denied in

the Forty-two Articles of 1549 and in the Thirty-nine Articles in which dogmas were stated for Elizabeth's Church in 1559. The real presence was assumed, however, though no attempt was made to explain it—as Luther and as Calvin had done.

In Elizabeth's long reign, during the struggle with Spain, the great majority of the English people drifted over from Roman Catholicism to the Church of England. Some adherents kept transubstantiation, as they understood it, or else a doctrine very close to it, while others believed what they understood of Lutheran, Calvinist or Zwinglian teaching. During the seventeenth century there developed the Calvinist and Puritan movement, whose advocates thought that the reformation in England was incomplete and that the church ought to be purged of many superstitions. During the Puritan Revolution episcopacy and the Anglican Church were overthrown, but with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 the church was reestablished. After that time, though the Puritans had no political power, Puritanism continued to be a potent spiritual force, influencing to further Protestantism many communicants of the church, and many others, like the Baptists and Presbyterians, who remained outside the church or who, like the Methodists, left it later on.

THE TREND AWAY FROM ROME

On the whole, with respect to most of its adherents, the trend of the Church of England continued to be away from Rome, until finally the English seemed one of the most thoroughly Protestant of peoples. More and more was the Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist tacitly accepted. Dislike of popery and abhorrence of its teachings, as for example transubstantiation, even though they might be ill understood, came to be national traditions, and fear and suspicion of Roman Catholic power became almost an instinct.

Meanwhile, however, the Thirty-nine Articles remained, and the prayer book, slightly revised in 1662, continued thenceforth unaltered. Enlightened and powerful elements within this church conceived it to be as thoroughly Catholic as that under the Pope. They believed the doctrines of these bodies very similar, admirable both. Some

of them even thought that the two would benefit from closer connection. There was such a movement in the early part of the seventeenth century under Charles I and Archbishop Laud. The Oxford movement of the early nineteenth century so developed.



Times Wide World

RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON
Archbishop of Canterbury



Times Wide World

SIR WILLIAM JOYNSON-HICKS

Home Secretary in the present British Cabinet and leader of the opposition in the House of Commons to the proposed revision of the Book of Common Prayer used by the Church of England

The present Anglo-Catholic movement is of the same kind.

For the past generation the Anglo-Catholics, an able and forceful minority, especially of clergymen, within the Church of England, have developed activity and

power. As others before them, they cherish the beauty of stately buildings, the dignity of fine church music and majestic ritual as necessary for the proper worship of God; and along with this they support some of the religious doctrines held by conservative churchmen during the Reformation of Elizabeth's time, or even before then. Some of them offer prayers for the dead—a practice which, to opponents, savors of belief in Purgatory. Some of them encourage adoration of saints. They uphold the idea of the real presence in the communion, favor reservation or keeping of the consecrated sacramental elements, and urge their followers to reverence and adore the elements reserved, which opponents say leads to belief in transubstantiation, even if that doctrine is not held directly. The movement has been all the more striking because some of its leaders have been not merely religious mystics but liberals in social questions and earnest workers for social reform.

As this movement has attracted attention, the more aggressively Protestant element in the church denounced Anglo-Catholics as covert papists stealthily undoing the Reformation's work. They demanded that the church authorities insist on the proper ritual and doctrine derived from the Thirty-nine Articles, as they understood them. More and more the two parties drew apart in strife and recrimination, until many believed that one church could not contain both. But meanwhile others hoped that as moderation and compromise had served in the past, so they might again, and that a new understanding embodied in a revised prayer book might satisfy all the groups.

MOVEMENT TO REVISE THE PRAYER BOOK

The ritual and services of the Church of England were stated in its Book of Common Prayer. The constitution or underlying dogmas were embodied in the Thirty-nine Articles, not a part of the prayer book but given along with it as an addition. Anglo-Catholics and others desired change in the prayer book. Some Modernists wished for a change in the articles, but that was an aspiration rather than an active movement.

In 1904 the Government appointed a royal commission to inquire into neglect of



Canterbury Cathedral from the southwest. This cathedral is the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is Primate of All England. The original Anglo-Saxon building was destroyed by fire in 1067

the law concerning divine service in the Church of England. Two years later the convocations, or representative assemblies of the church, were ordered to revise the prayer book. In 1919 Parliament passed a law altering the government of the church. Meanwhile the work of proposing changes in the prayer book continued. In 1922 the draft of a bill therefor was introduced into one of the houses of the new church assembly. By 1927 the respective houses of assembly and also the houses of convocation had approved a revision of the book to be presented as a bill for Parliament's approval. Thus a revised prayer book had been approved by the church authorities. Whether it would please the mass of the church members remained to be seen.

This revision, the work of the moderate element, strove to placate the opposing factions to some extent in hope that each one would abandon extreme contentions. To propitiate Modernists the word "obey" was

omitted from the marriage service, along with other changes. For the sake of satisfying Anglo-Catholics reservation of the communion bread and wine for the sick was permitted.

That the church leaders, in their zeal to hold Anglo-Catholics in the church, had assented to things displeasing to most church members was presently apparent. An active campaign was begun against the revised, deposited book. Permitting reservation, it was said, was contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles and to the whole spirit of the Protestant Reformation. It would imply transubstantiation. Adoration of reserved elements would lead back to primitive fetishism and medieval ideas of magic. In vain was it answered that the Thirty-nine Articles did not certainly forbid reservation, and that this had long been practiced in the Church of Scotland. Meetings of protest were held against the plot to take England to Rome, and speakers declared their

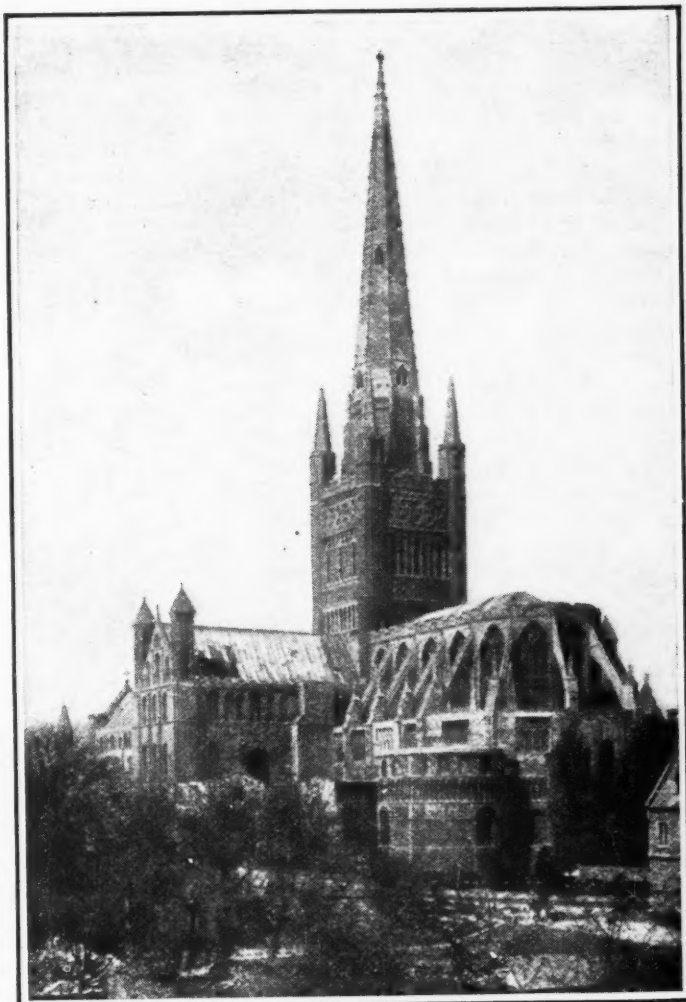
belief that the Protestant Reformation was in danger.

DEFEAT OF THE BILL

When, in December, 1927, the matter came to issue in the House of Commons, the Government, while sponsoring the measure to adopt the revised prayer book, did not try to force passage, and permitted freedom of debate. Advocates expecting success presented their case poorly and received slight response. Opponents, led by Sir William Joynson-Hicks, were fired with old zeal, and, assisted by Nonconformists glad to vote against the Church of England, carried all before them. Defeat of the bill was approved all over the country.

The aged Archbishop of Canterbury was heart-broken at this failure to still dissension in the church. Though warned that it was best now to let the matter drop, and that another effort defeated would discredit the church and perhaps bring disestablishment later, he and his colleagues attempted alterations that would secure acceptance by Parliament. Accordingly the revision was further revised with slight verbal changes. These new alterations displeased the Anglo-Catholics, who before had believed that little was being done for them and now saw that little diminished. The several houses of the church assembly accepted the altered revision, but with majorities diminished. Opponents increased their opposition, and when, in June, 1928, the measure came before the Commons again, after earnest and solemn debate it was again rejected by a majority greater than before (46).

The consequences cannot yet be foreseen. Some believe that Archbishop Davidson will give up the task. Others think that the effort to keep Anglo-Catholics by yielding to their demands will be abandoned, and that some of them will leave the church and go over to Rome. Still others believe the church may welcome disestablishment in order to be free from the authority of Parliament. There are those who say that a Church of England disestablished would lose its more Catholic members, but that it would win back much larger bodies of Nonconformists and would presently become more Protestant than ever before.



Norwich Cathedral from the southeast. The building was begun more than eight centuries ago

Protestant Missionaries Launch New World Policy

By SAMUEL GUY INMAN

SECRETARY, COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA

THE new program for international spiritual cooperation recently adopted by the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem may be considered as revolutionary in the ecclesiastical world as was, in the political world, the program outlined in the League of Nations. Delegates from fifty-one nations of the world, camping on the Mount of Olives for two weeks (March 28-April 8), faced frankly the question of the place of missionary enterprise in the post-war world.

In several respects the agenda of the missionaries at Jerusalem was quite similar to the agenda of the statesmen at Geneva. Among the subjects were the race problem, the rights of minorities, the protection of women and children in industry, relations between strong and weak nations, the land question, intellectual and spiritual cooperation, relations between State and Church, and various other phases of world peace. Specialists on race, industry and international relations from the minorities section of the League of Nations and the universities of London, Harvard and Columbia, among other institutions, were present to contribute technical knowledge as these problems were attacked.

Thus did the Protestant missionary enterprise, which spends \$50,000,000 a year and maintains 30,000 workers in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Islands, answer the criticism that it is an out-of-date movement, interested only in "other worldly" questions. Criticism of the enterprise had become so insistent, both within and without the Church, that many of its friends waited for the Jerusalem Conference to speak the word of life or death. When the great ecumenical missionary gathering met in New York in 1900 and the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, not only did the churches put this enterprise absolutely first in their program but statesmen and publicists, both

of the Occident and the Orient, were unwavering in their commendation of it. However, things have changed recently.

The World War was fought by so-called Christian nations, who were sending missionaries to so-called heathen nations. These same "Christian nations" often shipped their munitions and fire-water on the same boat on which they sent their missionaries. In this very exploitation of the weaker peoples they appeared at times to be using the missionaries in programs of peaceful penetration. Other considerations which have aroused intense criticism of missionary work are a new appreciation of the rights of "self-determination"; the beauties recently discovered in other religions; the new questioning as to whether our own civilization, which is breaking down in many ways, and our Christianity, with its unhappy divisions and rivalries, are worthy of copying; and a new nationalism among the young churches organized in mission lands, which are resenting further direction by the missionaries. Jerusalem did not dare dodge this criticism. There was some effort to do so during the first days of the Conference, when there was much whistling to keep up courage, but the uselessness of shibboleths was soon realized as the present world situation was faced.

It was evident at the beginning of the Conference that the old attitude of superiority of the West over the East, the regarding of Nordic civilization and the Christian religion as one and the same, was not acceptable. Professor R. H. Tawney of the Department of Economics of London University said on the first day that he could not share the complacency of those who talk about all the good things we have to offer to backward peoples when we could not point out a single country in Europe where a real Christian civilization exists. He added that we are trying the impossible in offering to save the individual, yet

leaving the social structure pagan. Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the United States admitted that he came from a nation which is in some respects pagan, which subscribes to the doctrine of militarism and has given itself over to the pursuit of wealth. The report of the Committee on Industrial Problems declared:

We acknowledge with shame and regret that the Churches both in Europe and America and the missionary enterprise itself coming as it does out of an economic order dominated almost entirely by the profit motive (a motive which itself stands in need of Christian scrutiny) have not been sufficiently sensitive of these aspects of the Christian message as to mitigate the evils which advancing industrialization has brought in its train, and we believe that our failure in this respect has been a positive hindrance—perhaps the gravest of such hindrances—to the power and extension of missionary enterprise.

STUDY OF RACIAL GRIEVANCES

The Conference first listened to rapid-fire seven-minute speeches from representatives of the fifty-one countries present. Mexico, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, India, Brazil, China, Java, the Philippines, Korea, Japan, Australia, Central Africa, Europe, North America all outlined their problems, internal and external, social, educational and religious. Special situations in various countries like India and China were discussed at greater length by nationals of those lands, who with the greatest frankness told their grievances against Western nations. Out of this exceedingly frank talk and sometimes merciless indictment of Western dominance came a number of meetings where the two groups directly concerned in a great problem which disturbs international and Christian fellowship met for more detailed study. These group meetings, not on the program, may, in some sense, be the most prophetic action of the Conference. Britishers and Indians, North Americans and Filipinos, Japanese and Koreans, African and American negroes with Southern whites, were among these groups which worked out special ways for the Christian forces to lead in abolishing hatreds and rivalries existent between these groups. The Philippine delegation invited the North American Christians to send a commission to the islands to study the growing prejudice against the United States because of the independence question, since,

as Dean Bocobo of the National University said: "Racial conflict between America and my country has made the Philippine Islands one of the sorest spots in the world."

The British were told that revolution was bound to come in India unless conditions were changed. The Koreans pointed out to the Japanese delegates that out of eight heads of departments in the Korean Government seven were Japanese and out of 18,454 Government employes only 7,000 are Koreans. The Chinese delegates told their Western friends that "exploitations by foreign Powers in China are such as to make it impossible for us to revive ourselves until the death grip of foreign imperialism upon the throat of the nation is removed." A South African negro pointed out how un-Christian it was for a Great Power to foist on a country where eight-ninths of the nations live in rural communities a law providing that 88 per cent. of the land is for the foreigners and 12 per cent. for the natives. An Argentine delegate told of how certain commercial interests of the United States brought economic pressure to bear on his church because of its protest against the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua.

At numerous times the effort was made to swing away from the consideration of so much of this secularizing process and to treat the more "spiritual" questions. This did not seem easy, however. Whatever happened to be the topic, these great racial, industrial and international questions seemed to thrust themselves into the picture.

The analysis of the reports of the delegates from all parts of the world seemed to indicate that throughout the world there is a sense of insecurity and instability. Ancient religions are undergoing modification, and in some regions dissolution, as scientific and commercial developments alter the current of men's thoughts. Institutions long venerated are discarded or called in question; well-established standards of moral conduct are brought under criticism and countries called Christian feel the stress as truly as the peoples of Asia and Africa. Along with this is found the quest of a new basis for life, the birthpangs of rising nationalism and the consciousness of race and class oppression. Everywhere there is a great yearning for

the full expression of personality, for spiritual leadership, for social justice, for brotherhood, for international peace.

MISSION FORCES VOICE NEW ATTITUDE

If such was the picture of the world today, what had the mission forces to say to it? The Commission on the Christian Message answered:

In this world, bewildered and groping for its way, Jesus Christ has drawn to Himself the attention and admiration of mankind as never before. He stands before men as plainly greater than Western civilization, greater than the Christianity that the world has come to know. Many who have not hitherto been won to His Church yet find in Him their hero and their ideal.

In searching for the motives that impel us we find ourselves eliminating decisively and at once certain motives that may seem, in the minds of some, to have become mixed with purer motives in the history of the movement. We repudiate any attempt on the part of trade or of Governments openly or covertly to use the missionary cause for ulterior purposes. We would repudiate any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests.

Nor have we the desire to bind up our Gospel with fixed ecclesiastical traditions which derive their meaning from the experience of the Western Church. Rather we place at the disposal of the younger churches of all lands our collective and historic experience. We believe that much of that heritage has come out of reality and will be worth sharing. But we ardently desire that the younger churches express the Gospel through their own genius and through forms suitable to their racial heritage.

We have a pattern in our minds as to what form that life should take. We believe in a Christlike world. We know nothing better, we can be content with nothing less. We do not go to the nations called non-Christian because they are the worst of the world and they alone are in need—we go because they are a part of the world and share with us in the same human need.

The Church has not firmly and effectively set its face against race hatred, race envy, race contempt, or against social envy and contempt and class bitterness, or against racial, national and social pride, or against the lust for wealth and exploitation of the poor or weak.

But while we record these failures we are also bound to record with thankfulness the achievements of the Christian Church in this field. The difference between the Europe known to St. Paul and the Europe known to Dante, to Luther, to Wesley, is plain for all to see. From every quarter of the globe comes testimony to the liberation effected by Christ for women. * * * There is a growing sensitiveness of conscience with regard to war and the conditions that may lead up to it. For all these indications of the growing power of the Spirit of Christ among Christians we thank God. And we call on all Christian people to be ready for pioneer-

ing thought and action in the name of Christ. * * *

The idea of race superiority was not admitted for a moment at Jerusalem. Not the least suggestion of the missionary enterprise being carried on by advanced races for the benefit of inferior ones was remotely hinted. Distinguished negroes like Max Yergen of South Africa and Dr. John Hope of Atlanta occupied prominent places on the program. Bishop Kogoro Uzaki of Japan emphasized the well known doctrine of race equality advocated by Japan, saying that it was perfectly legitimate for any nation to limit foreigners' activities in the ownership of land, in the exercise of professions and even in entering the country, but that it was un-Christian to make any distinctions between foreigners of different races.

The Conference took a definite stand on race migrations, pointing out the friction often produced by migration for the purpose of improving the emigrants' economic life. If the migration be from a more advanced country toward a less developed one the danger is that the indigenous peoples may be ousted from their rights and privileges. When the migratory movement is in the reverse direction, the danger is that the standards of civilization and of economic welfare attained by the more advanced nation will be threatened by the influx of people accustomed to lower standards. The Conference recognized that it is reasonable for the higher civilization to protect its standards, restricting immigration but not upon grounds of color or race. However, a country should have regard not merely for its own economic situation but for that of other peoples, and should not impede such redistribution of population as may be in the best interests of the world as a whole. The hope was also expressed that in this matter nations might become amenable to the public opinion of the world.

ECONOMIC WORLD PROBLEMS

The Conference indicated its belief that the basis of race prejudice is economic. It called for the establishment of practical equality in all such matters as the right to hold property, to follow all occupations or professions, the right of freedom of movement and the exercise of citizenship. In

lands where races live side by side, participation by all in racial intermingling for social, cultural and religious fellowship was declared to be the natural expression of Christianity and was welcomed as a step toward world-wide understanding.

The importance of the rural people of the world was specially emphasized at Jerusalem. About 1,000,000,000 of the 1,700,000,000 of the world's population live in the country. Of the 33,000,000 people in the Near Eastern lands, 30,000,000 are rural. The effect upon every part of Indian life of the pitiable situation of its rural inhabitants was pointed out by K. T. Paul of India. The poverty of these people means insufficient food, overwork, child labor and bad housing, which in turn mean lowered vitality, easy victims to disease and a fatal lethargy. Similarly the Chinese delegates pointed out the enormous number of their population that lived on the land, and the need of a Christian program that would include agricultural specialists, rural schools and other ways of helping the farmers to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Here again the relationships of practical life to spiritual questions was emphasized, though caution was given not to reduce the Christian program to a mere economic improvement; to give people spiritual power meant to develop the energy necessary for carrying forward practical programs for bettering living conditions.

The position of women in various parts of the world was reported by women delegates from many lands. Those from China, India, Korea and Turkey were particularly emphatic as to the need of their women for the Christian message, since it placed women in so much more superior a position than did other religions.

The one action which calls for new machinery in the missionary enterprise was the decision to form a Bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information. This may be regarded as a logical step following the evidence that the solution of practically every question discussed was closely interwoven with social and economic conditions. These conditions, however, are exceedingly complicated, and only technical experts will be able to analyze them and show the average missionary worker how they effect his task.

The report of the Commission on Economic Conditions pointed out some of the more outstanding economic ventures undertaken by so-called "advanced countries," which send economic agents to so-called "backward peoples," who are asked to submit to those countries' economic dominance, on the one hand, while on the other hand they are asked to receive the spiritual ministry of the missionaries. The report said in part:

The International Missionary Council has considered the danger to the maintenance of Christian moral and social standards arising from the penetration of western economic civilization into countries which have been hitherto little affected by it. Experience shows that the problems presented by such penetration affect directly and ultimately the Missionary enterprise, and unless treated in the spirit of Christian wisdom, present grave obstacles to the progress of Christianity among the peoples concerned.

The public loans made for the development of industrially undeveloped areas are so fraught with the possibility of international misunderstandings and of dangerous combinations between exploiting groups in lending and borrowing countries that such loans should be made only with the knowledge and approval of a properly constituted international authority and subject to such conditions as it may prescribe.

Where such authority does not exist or is not recognized, earnest consideration should be given to the establishment of other safeguards which may serve the same purpose.

Private investments should in no case carry with them rights of political control over the country in which the investment is made, and in no case should the political power of the Government of the investing country be used to secure the right of making loans and of obtaining concessions and other special privileges for its nationals. It is desirable that the natural resources of undeveloped countries should be developed for the good of mankind. At the same time, it is of vital importance that economic development should not be accelerated in such a way as to prevent due attention being paid to changing social conditions. The utmost care should be taken to prevent the social institutions which preserve the stamina of native peoples from being undermined before they can be replaced by other safeguards. The revenue of the country should be applied primarily to the development of services such as health and education designed to promote the welfare of the indigenous peoples.

Experience shows that among the most prolific causes of friction among nations has been the rivalry of competing imperialisms to secure preferential access to sources of raw materials, markets and opportunities of investment in the still undeveloped regions of the world. It is of vital importance to the future of civilization that this rivalry, ruinous alike to the nations engaged in it and to the indigenous populations, should be brought under control. Such control can be established only by the action of an international authority, which can do impartial

justice to the claims of all nations. The International Missionary Council looks forward, therefore, to such an extension of the activities of the League of Nations and of the International Labor Organization and other similar movements as may result in the creation of an international code defining the mutual relations between the various Powers interested in colonial expansion, and the indigenous population affected by it. It regards the economic functions of the League in relation to such matters as loans, concessions, labor and tariff policy and communication as among the most important branches of its work, and desires to see them extended as widely and as rapidly as possible.

OTHER PROBLEMS CONSIDERED

The question of Government protection of missionaries, raised so persistently in connection with the present situation in China, did not appear on the agenda at Jerusalem. It was not possible for the meeting to close, however, without its being frankly faced. A minority favored leaving such a difficult question to the individual boards to solve. But on the last night, although it meant adjourning two hours later than scheduled, the aggressive element insisted on action and a resolution was passed, which read in part as follows:

Inasmuch as the use or the threat of armed forces of the country from which they come for the protection of the missionary and missionary property not only creates widespread misunderstanding as to the underlying motive of missionary work, but also gravely hinders the acceptance of the Christian message:

The International Missionary Council places on record its conviction that the protection of missionaries should only be by such methods as will promote good-will in personal and official relations, and that they should make no claim on their Governments for the armed defense of their missionaries and their property.

The Jerusalem meeting devoted considerable time to the study of other questions which are more technically missionary questions, such as relations between the older and younger churches, cooperation between missionary agencies, conditions affecting the raising of funds and securing missionary volunteers, and the place and program of education in missions. These are reported in a series of publications which are being issued by the International Missionary Council.

The outstanding result of the Jerusalem Conference was the reorganization of the

International Missionary Council, making it representative of the various Protestant Christian forces in practically every nation in the world. The International Council is composed of national organizations, which in turn represent the various denominations of a given area. The National Christian Council of China, for example, represents about 125 organizations, the Foreign Missions Conference of the United States and Canada represents about 70, and the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America represents 34 denominations and interdenominational movements. These are boards of strategy which consider all missionary problems from the standpoint of the needs of the country and not from the point of extending denominational strength. With a cooperative organization working in each country, and all these now coordinated through the International Missionary Council, the missionary enterprise is prepared to move unitedly in the development of its program.

Around a common council table and not within the walls of a single denominational mission board are determined the questions of what organization shall enter new territory, and whether new schools, new hospitals, new printing plants, new social centres would better be opened by single boards or by the union of various organizations. In various fields union papers speak the united voice of all the evangelical forces, union theological seminaries educate the ministers for the various denominations and union efforts develop great educational centres, which would be impossible for any single denomination to accomplish. In some of the smaller fields, like Mesopotamia and Santo Domingo, the whole work is administered by a united board and the names of the churches make no reference to Protestant denominations. The National Christian Church of China and of other fields heretofore called "missionary" are on their way to organization, and will all receive large impetus through the new international organization developed at Jerusalem, which puts the Christian forces in such lands on exactly the same basis as are those in Great Britain and the United States.

Great Britain's Adjustments With the Arab World

By LEONARD STEIN

POLITICAL SECRETARY, WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

THE extent and the variety of Great Britain's interests in the Arab world are illustrated by the fact that she is, or has lately been engaged in important negotiations with the rulers of no less than four Arab States. First comes the Wahabi Sultan, Ibn Sa'ud, who is also King of the Hedjaz; then there is his Southern neighbor and rival, the Imam Yehia of the Yemen; then Emir Abdullah of Trans-Jordan; and lastly, Abdullah's better-known brother, King Feisul of Iraq. The story of Great Britain's relations with these potentates is bound up with the still more complicated story of their relations with one another.

The treaty between Great Britain and Iraq was signed in London on Dec. 14, 1927, and is now awaiting ratification. The status of Iraq is and has always been anomalous. The Allied Powers decided after the war that Iraq should be administered by Great Britain under a League of Nations mandate. The mandate, however, was never formally confirmed by the Council of the League. The insurrection of 1920 had made it clear that a mandate, in the strict sense of the term, could be imposed upon Iraq only by force, necessitating a compromise which would give some satisfaction to nationalist sentiment. The result was that Iraq was declared a kingdom; Emir Feisul—a son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz—was placed on the throne, and the mandate was quietly set aside in favor of what was, at least in form, a treaty of alliance, though it actually gave the British High Commissioner a large measure of control over the King and his Arab Ministers.

The treaty was concluded in 1922. It was to run for twenty years, but in 1923 it was modified by a protocol, which provided that it should terminate when Iraq became a member of the League of Nations, and in any case not later than four years from the ratification of peace between the Allies and Turkey—an event which took place in

August, 1924. In September, 1924, this treaty, as amended by the protocol, was approved by the Council of the League. A new situation arose in December, 1925, when the Council, in awarding Mosul to Iraq, stipulated that the relations between Great Britain and Iraq, as defined by the treaty, should continue for twenty-five years, unless in the meantime Iraq should become a member of the League. In January, 1926, Great Britain and Iraq concluded a new treaty complying with this requirement. At the same time Great Britain agreed that at the date when the treaty of 1922 would have expired (i.e. in 1928), and thereafter at four-yearly intervals, she would consider pressing Iraq's admission to the League, and any modifications in the subsidiary financial and military agreements.

The military agreement, which was signed in 1924, provided that within a period of four years, Iraq should assume full responsibility for her own defense and internal order. Otherwise Iraq could hardly expect Great Britain to press for her admission, as an independent State, to the League of Nations. It was clear that this responsibility could not be fulfilled without recourse to compulsory service. By the Summer of 1927 conscription had become a burning topic in Iraq. It was strongly opposed by a powerful body of public opinion, and more particularly by the Shiah element.

It was in these circumstances that King Feisul and his Prime Minister, Jafar Pasha el Askari, came to London to negotiate a revision of the treaty in the Autumn of 1927. The negotiations were impeded by the sudden resignation of the Acting Prime Minister, Yasir Pasha el Hashimi, as a protest against what he described as unwarrantable interference on the part of the British High Commissioner. With negotiations seemingly at a deadlock, Jafar

Pasha left London on Nov. 27, but only to be immediately recalled by King Feisul, who had, at the last moment, seen a chance of a settlement which he could accept. The result was a treaty signed in London on Dec. 14, 1927, which declared that the treaties of 1922 and 1926 "are no longer appropriate, in view of the altered circumstances and of the progress made by Iraq." Iraq is expressly recognized as "an independent sovereign State," and though Great Britain retains certain advisory and supervisory powers in matters affecting the foreign relations of Iraq, they are defined with scrupulous regard for Iraqi susceptibilities. The financial and military agreements of 1924 are to be revised. Great Britain promises to support Iraq's admission to the League of Nations, in 1932, "provided that the present rate of progress in Iraq is maintained and all goes well in the interval."

The publication of the treaty in the Bagdad press at the end of December, 1927, was immediately followed by the resignation of Rashid Ali Begel Gilari, Yasir Pasha's successor as acting Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister himself, Jafar Pasha, resigned soon afterward. He was succeeded by Abdul Mushir Beges Sadun, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, who insisted on an immediate dissolution of Parliament and a general election. The elections, which ended in May, gave the Government an overwhelming majority in the Chamber of Deputies, so that the way is now clear for the ratification of the Treaty by Iraq.

THE TRANS-JORDAN PROBLEM

We now turn from King Feisul of Iraq to his elder brother, the Emir Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, with whom Great Britain has also been engaged in negotiations during the last few months. Trans-Jordan consists of that part of the British Mandate for Palestine which extends eastward from the Jordan to the Western frontier of Iraq. Most of its population, which numbers about 200,000, are Arabs, the majority are Moslems, and a large proportion are nomadic Bedouin. Abdullah entered Trans-Jordan from the South in 1921 at the head of a body of Arab irregulars, with the apparent object of marching into Syria,

from which his brother Feisul had just been driven by the French. Since the collapse of the provisional Arab Administration in Damascus which had been installed there after the war, the British Government had had Trans-Jordan on its hands, not knowing exactly what to do with it. Offering Trans-Jordan to Abdullah would head him off from Syria, gratify the Hashimite family, headed by King Hussein, and at the same time supply a rather intractable territory with a suitable figure-head. The offer was accepted, and Abdullah, renouncing his designs on Syria, took over the rule of Trans-Jordan as an Arab principality under the general supervision of Great Britain.

The following September the Council of the League agreed, at the instance of Great Britain, that Trans-Jordan should have a separate Administration of its own, under the general supervision of Great Britain as the mandatory power. A few months later the British High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, visited Amman, Abdullah's capital, and formally announced that Great Britain would be prepared to recognize the existence in Trans-Jordan of an independent Government under the rule of the Emir, on three conditions. First, a constitutional form of government must be established; secondly, an agreement must be made which would enable Great Britain to discharge her international obligations under the mandate; finally, the new régime must be approved by the League of Nations.

This was in April, 1923. It was not until February, 1928—nearly five years later—that the projected agreement between Great Britain and Trans-Jordan was actually signed. This was due to the fact that the Emir, though an agreeable personality, did not prove a successful administrator. His methods were autocratic and his handling of public money was so loose that Trans-Jordan was soon threatened with financial chaos. The situation took a turn for the better with the appointment of a new British representative at Amman in the Summer of 1924, who introduced more orderly methods of Government and gradually restored financial equilibrium. The budget is now within sight of balancing.

Though Trans-Jordan has certain British advisers and the Frontier Force is under

British command, executive authority in the various departments of the Administration has been left, as far as possible, in Arab hands. Since 1926 the Emir has been advised by an Executive Council consisting of the Prime Minister and certain of the other principal office-holders, all of them Arabs.

TERMS OF THE TREATY

The agreement between the British and Trans-Jordan Governments was at last signed in Jerusalem on Feb. 20, 1928. It defines in detail the matters in which the Emir agrees to be guided by British advice, relating to the foreign relations of Trans-Jordan, its financial and fiscal policy, the grant of concessions and the maintenance of armed forces. The Emir recognizes the principle that the cost of the forces required for the defense of Trans-Jordan is a charge on the revenues of that territory. On the other hand, so long as the revenues of Trans-Jordan are insufficient to cover the cost of administration, including defense, arrangements are to be made for a contribution from the British Treasury by way of grant or loan.

The Preamble recites the British declaration of 1923 with reference to the conditions under which Great Britain is prepared to recognize the existence of an independent Government in Trans-Jordan. The agreement is clearly designed to pave the way for such recognition, subject to the establishment in Trans-Jordan of something that can be deemed to be a constitutional form of Government. The situation, however, is not materially changed by the treaty, except in so far as it tends to regularize the status of Trans-Jordan by clearly defining its relations with Great Britain. It will be observed that Trans-Jordan, unlike Iraq, is not even nominally recognized as an independent sovereign State, and that its relations with Great Britain, unlike those of Iraq, are not expressed in terms of an Alliance. Not only is Trans-Jordan small, poor, and still at a very primitive stage of development, but it is both economically and strategically inseparable from Palestine proper, of which it is the natural hinterland. Thus it is difficult to see in it, as it may be

possible to see in Iraq, the makings of a bona fide independent State.

Another Arab potentate with whom Great Britain is in negotiation is the Wahabi ruler, Ibn Sa'ud, who is without question the outstanding personality in the Arabian Peninsula. Wahabism, which dates back to the middle of the Eighteenth Century, began as a movement for the restoration of Islam to its primitive simplicity. It has from the outset been distinguished by its intolerant fanaticism and by the crusading zeal which has from time to time swept it irresistibly forward to conquests far beyond the borders of its Central Arabian home. Ibn Sa'ud, who traces his descent to its founder, has succeeded in gradually rebuilding the Wahabi Empire, which lay in ruins when he first emerged from obscurity more than twenty years ago. By the outbreak of war in 1914 he had not only recovered his ancestral principality of Nejd but had expelled the Turks from the Province of El Hasa on the Persian Gulf.

When Turkey joined the Central Powers, Great Britain took steps to secure Ibn Sa'ud's good will, and the negotiations ended in December, 1915, in a treaty which, while recognizing his independence, brought him, in effect, within the British sphere of influence. Great Britain's relations with Ibn Sa'ud were complicated by the fact that he was the rival, and indeed the open enemy, of another British protégé, the Sherif of Mecca, who was to emerge from the War as King Hussein of the Hedjaz. These two potentates, both of them revolving in the British orbit, came into armed collision in 1919. Nejd and the Hedjaz continued to pin-prick each other at intervals until, in 1925, Ibn Sa'ud invaded the Hedjaz in force, drove out King Ali, who had succeeded to the throne on the abdication of his father, King Hussein, and made himself master of the Hashimite dominions, including the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina.

The British mandated territories of Iraq and Trans-Jordan were ruled by two other sons of Hussein, both of whom had already had sundry disputes with Ibn Sa'ud. It was, therefore, highly desirable, in view of the turn of events in the Hedjaz, that their relations with the enlarged Wahabi Kingdom should be regularized without delay.

Certain boundary questions which had arisen between Nejd and Iraq had already been disposed of, at least on paper, by the Treaty of Mohammerah and the supplementary Protocol of Uqair, which were negotiated under British auspices in May and December, 1922, respectively. But disputes still occurred and nothing had come of an attempt to adjust them at the Conference of Koweit, which broke down in April, 1924. Accordingly, the Wahabi annexation of the Hedjaz was followed by the dispatch of a British mission to Ibn Sa'ud under the leadership of Sir Gilbert Clayton. The result was the signature in December, 1925, of the Hadda and Bahra Agreements, dealing respectively with the frontiers between Nejd and Iraq and Nejd and Trans-Jordan. These agreements did not purport to cover the whole field of the relations between Great Britain and Ibn Sa'ud. Returning to the Hedjaz, Sir Gilbert Clayton succeeded in negotiating a more comprehensive treaty, which was signed at Jeddah on May 20, 1927, and ratified the following September. The Treaty of Jeddah abrogates the treaty of 1915 and recognizes "the complete and absolute independence" of the Wahabi Kingdom, including both Nejd and the Hedjaz. Ibn Sa'ud undertakes to facilitate the pilgrimage by British subjects of the Moslem faith and to co-operate with Great Britain in the suppression of the slave trade. Each party is to do everything in his power "to prevent his territory from being used as a base for unlawful activities directed against the territories of the other party." Ibn Sa'ud expressly pledges himself to maintain friendly relations with Koweit and other States in the British sphere of influence in the Persian Gulf.

COMPLICATIONS THROUGH RAIDS

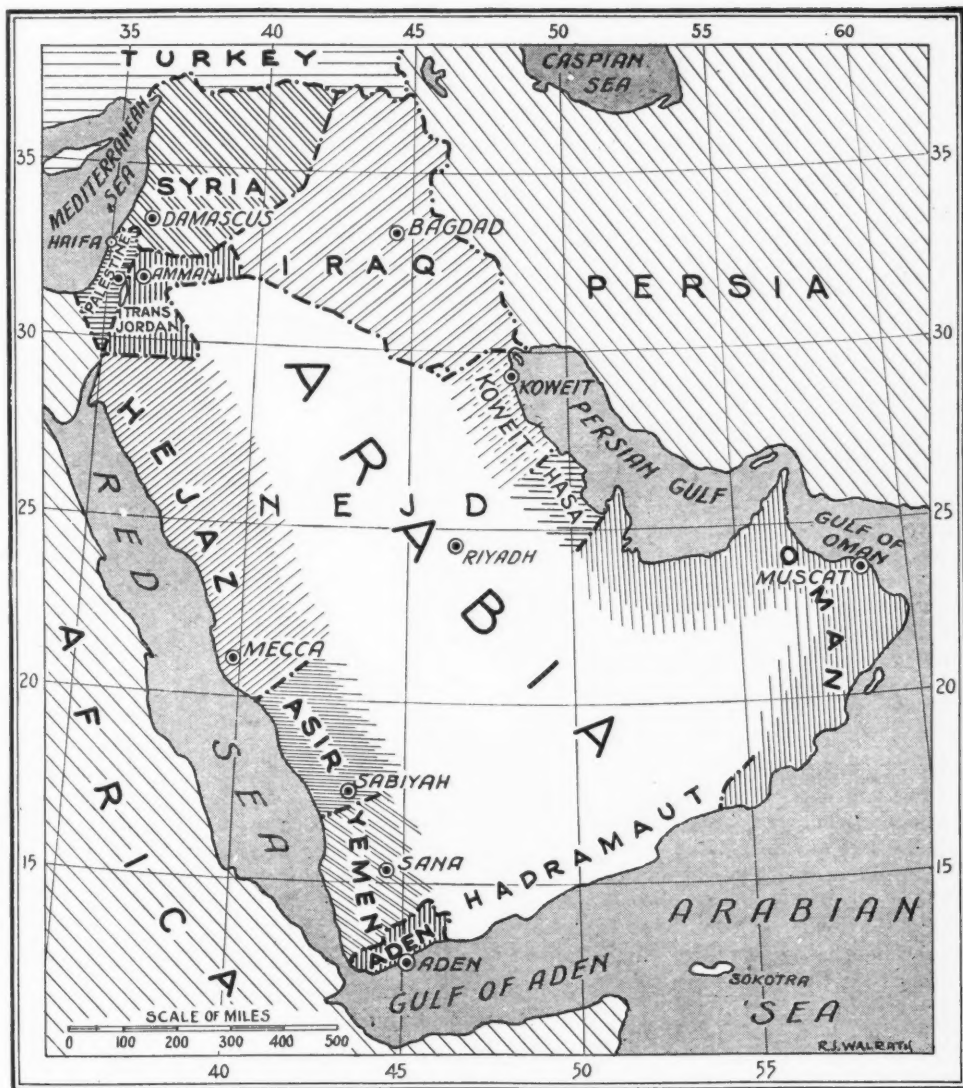
Hardly had the treaty been ratified than Wahabi raiders crossed into the Iraq frontier and attacked a police post at Busiyah. This was in November, 1927. In the Winter of 1927-28 Wahabi irregulars made further incursions into Iraq, raided Koweit and threatened Trans-Jordan. The Mecca newspaper, *Umm al-Quara*, which is presumed to be officially inspired, argued that both Iraq and Trans-Jordan had invited trouble by failing in their treaty obligations to-

ward Nejd. It was stated that raiding parties had repeatedly crossed the frontiers into Wahabi territory and that no adequate measures had been taken to prevent such incursions. Iraq, moreover, was charged with provocative conduct in building a fort on the Nejd frontier at Busiyah, thus violating the protocol of el-Uqair. To this the Iraqi reply was that the so-called fort was merely a police post, and that Busiyah was not on the frontier but some seventy miles inside of it.

Ibn Sa'ud himself never publicly countenanced or defended the Wahabi raids. On the contrary, according to a statement by the Acting Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons on Dec. 14, 1927, he sent a message to the High Commissioner for Iraq to the effect that a Wahabi force was marching northward contrary to his orders, and that he wished him to be forewarned. On March 12, 1928, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Amery, informed the House that there was no evidence that Ibn Sa'ud was directly responsible for the raids. This is not at all unlikely, since they were organized under the Feisul ed-Dowish, one of Ibn Sa'ud's tribal chiefs, a notorious firebrand, who led raids into Iraq in 1922 and again in 1924, and is known not to be on the best of terms with his overlord. Be that as it may, the result of these repeated attacks on territories under British protection has been to reopen the whole question of the relations between Great Britain and Ibn Sa'ud—a question which it was hoped had been settled by the Treaty of Jeddah.

Another British mission, headed by Sir Gilbert Clayton, arrived at Jeddah early in May, but the negotiations, which "were animated throughout by a genuine desire on both sides to arrive at a settlement of a nature to insure good relations between the three countries concerned," viz., Nejd, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, were suspended on May 23 because of the approach of the pilgrimage season.

At the southern end of the Arabian Peninsula Great Britain has to deal with another somewhat incalculable force—Imam Yehia of the Yemen. His dominions, which occupy the southwest corner of Arabia, have an extensive coastline on the Red Sea. Over against them, on the East African



Map of Arabia and adjoining territories

side, lies the Italian colony of Eritrea. To the south they march with the British Protectorate of Aden, while to the north they are separated from the Hedjaz by the buffer State of Asir. Since the war the Imam has vigorously pursued a forward policy, which has made him a menace to the independence of Asir and a thorn in the side of the Aden Protectorate.

One of his main objects was, from the outset, to gain possession of the Red Sea port of Hodeidah, which was in the hands

of the British at the Armistice. When it was evacuated by the British in 1921 the Imam had the mortification of seeing the coveted prize awarded to his rival, the Idrisi of Asir. After desultory fighting he succeeded in capturing Hodeidah in 1925.

No sooner had he consolidated his position, than he began to be assiduously wooed by an Italian mission headed by Dr. Gasperini, the Governor of Eritrea. The result was a treaty signed at his capital of Sanaa in September, 1926. The actual

terms of the treaty, as published, were not sensational, but its practical effect was to give Italy a privileged position in the Yemen, and incidentally to divert Yemenite trade from Aden to the port of Massowah in Italian East Africa. At the end of 1926 another Italian mission visited the Yemen under Commendatore Uccelli, and in June, 1927, a Yemenite mission visited Rome under the leadership of the Imam's son, Seyyid Mohammed.

At the end of 1926 representatives of the British and Italian Governments met in Rome for an exchange of views on the situation in Southwest Arabia. The success of the Gasperini mission was all the more significant by reason of the fact that a British mission under Sir Gilbert Clayton, which had preceded it at Sanaa, had had to leave empty-handed. The main reason for the breakdown of the negotiations was that Great Britain insisted on the Imam's unconditional renunciation of any rights whatever within the borders of the Aden Protectorate. Not only did the Imam refuse this demand but in September, 1927, he began to penetrate further into the Protectorate, and withdrew only on being warned that aircraft would be used against him. On Feb. 9, 1928, Yemenite raiders kidnapped from within the Protectorate two Arab Sheiks who were in treaty relations with Great Britain. After forty-eight hours' warning, British aircraft bombed the town of Kataba, and bombing was continued at intervals until the end of March, when the kidnapped Sheiks were returned under a flag of truce. The situation has since remained unchanged, and no *modus vivendi* is yet in sight.

Apart from the Aden Protectorate, Great Britain has another point of contact with the Yemen in Asir, which is a buffer State separating the Yemen from the Hedjaz. By a treaty concluded with the reigning Idrisi in 1915 Great Britain guaranteed his independence within his own dominions. These dominions were recognized as including the Farsan Islands, which contain petroleum deposits, and in 1912 a seventy-five year concession was granted by the Turks to the Red Sea Oilfields Company. What became of this concession is not quite clear, but since the war the Farsan Islands have again attracted the attention of the oil

interests. At the end of 1926, shortly after the conclusion of the Italian Treaty with the Imam, it was reported that Italian representatives were seeking to stake out a claim in the islands, which seemed to be falling to the Imam as the result of his gradual absorption of Asir. These reports were immediately followed by others to the effect that an important British group was in negotiation with representatives of the Idrisi and at the annual meeting of the Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields Company in London on May 19, 1927, it was announced that the company had obtained a concession over the Farsan Islands and had arranged to operate it through a subsidiary concern, the Red Sea Petroleum Company.

This transaction introduced a new factor into the conflict between the Idrisi and the Imam—a conflict which was further complicated by the fact that it involved the relations between Italy's friend, the Imam, and Great Britain's friend, Ibn Sa'ud. In the struggle for the Hedjaz between Ibn Sa'ud and King Hussein the Imam did not directly intervene, but his sympathies were undisguisedly with the latter. Ibn Sa'ud, on the other hand, was already on terms of close friendship with the Idrisi, in whom he saw a natural counterpoise to the Imam. His relations with the Idrisi were eventually regularized by the Treaty of Mecca, signed on Oct. 21, 1926, which made Asir, to all intents and purposes, a Wahabi Protectorate.

It looked for a time as though Ibn Sa'ud and the Imam were bound to drift into war, but neither side showed any anxiety to press the quarrel to extremes, and a collision has, up to the present, been avoided. In June, 1927, a conference met at Sanaa, at the Imam's invitation, to fix the boundaries between the Yemenite and Wahabi dominions, and incidentally to decide the fate of Asir. These negotiations came to nothing, but at the end of March, 1928, a representative of the Imam went to Mecca with the object, it was stated, of discussing the problem of Asir with Ibn Sa'ud. To the moment of writing (May, 1928) no results have been reported, but the fact that negotiations have been reopened indicates that the intentions of both rulers are, at least for the present, pacific.

LONDON, ENGLAND, May 30, 1928.

The St. Lawrence Canal: America's Demands

By BERNARD KEBLE SANDWELL

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AND HEAD OF THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, KINGSTON, ONTARIO; FORMERLY EDITOR OF THE *Montreal Financial Times*; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

THE project of a joint undertaking by the United States and Canada, the two riparian powers, for the development of a through deep waterway and of the concomitant water-powers in the St. Lawrence River has been examined and discussed from many different angles by many different bodies, official and unofficial. The economic and engineering aspects of it have been pretty exhaustively gone over by the International Joint Commission and the Joint Board of Engineers and by a score of private investigators. What may be termed the national aspects of it have been examined and reported on by the St. Lawrence River Commission for the United States and by the National Advisory Committee for the Dominion of Canada.

The necessity for these latter reports arises from the fact that there are two nations concerned and their interests cannot be wholly identical. If the entire territory of the St. Lawrence watershed were under one government, the examinations made by the Joint Commission and the Joint Board, dealing as they do with questions of engineering feasibility, cost, value of power developed and extent of improvement to transportation facilities, would be all that could be required. If the questions under these heads were answered favorably, the project could be recommended for early execution. For the exact distribution of benefits, costs and rights of control is of no great consequence when all the parties concerned are under a single flag and express their wills through a single Government.

Dealing as they do with questions purely internal to their respective nations, these two reports, of the St. Lawrence River Commission and the National Advisory Committee, have not been officially communicated by the Government for which they were made to the other negotiating

Government. A considerable part of their contents has, however, been quoted or summarized in the correspondence between the Governments. But there is one paragraph in the report of the Canadian Committee which has not been communicated to Washington in any official way, though there is doubtless no reason to suppose that the State Department is unaware of it. It reads as follows:

(10) We have considered whether the proposed waterway should be regulated and governed by treaties already in existence or whether a new treaty should be negotiated, but feel that that is a matter which the Government would probably prefer to decide for itself. Therefore we make no recommendation in that respect other than to express the conviction that in the event of a new treaty being negotiated the United States should not be given any greater rights than obtain in existing treaties.

The National Advisory Committee also reported to the Canadian Government its views on a number of other aspects of the project, and these other views were duly communicated to the American Government in a letter from the Canadian Minister at Washington on Jan. 31, with the observation that the Canadian Government "concurs in these conclusions of the National Advisory Committee." The view about treaty rights was not so communicated, and we have at present no official means of telling whether the Canadian Government concurs in that view also or not. But there is an overwhelming probability that it does. The committee is a creature of the present Liberal Government of the Dominion of Canada, and consists almost wholly, if not wholly, of prominent and influential Liberals. The most solid block of support enjoyed by the Liberal Party comes from the Province of Quebec; and there is a minority report, signed by two of the most influential French-Canadians in that Province, which goes even further in the direction of discountenancing the creation of any new

rights in favor of the United States than the majority report does. This minority report says:

(20) The treaty entered into between Canada and the United States in pursuance to this project would clearly acknowledge the full and uncontrolled jurisdiction of Canada over any and all sections and parts of this undertaking lying wholly in Canadian territory and vice versa. Both countries would grant one another the reciprocal customary safeguards as regards maintenance, operation, right of usage, apportionment of capital expenditure for all the improvements in navigation (with power incidental thereto).

(21) This treaty as regards the international navigation features of this project should extend no further or greater rights than those now assured to the United States under existing treaties.

The Conservative Party, now in opposition, has recently adopted in full national convention a plank which, while couched (like most platform planks) in somewhat less lucid language, is just about as vigorous on the subject of the undesirability of establishing any new navigation rights in favor of foreigners in waters under Canadian jurisdiction. Any Liberal Government, therefore, which should consent to the establishment of any such new rights in defiance of the unanimous recommendations of its own committee and in opposition to the declared policy of the Conservative Party would seem to be inviting its own political destruction. This is an act which is occasionally performed by party leaders, especially after a long term of office when they have lost contact with the electorate; but Prime Minister King has never yet given any signs of having been thus maddened by the gods into invoking his own destruction.

In spite, therefore, of the absence of any official warnings from the Canadian Government that there is no hope of the creation of any new treaty rights in favor of the United States in Canadian waters, it is pretty safe to assume that no hope exists. No such warning has indeed been called for by any explicit utterance of the United States Government; and to utter it before it is called for would perhaps be a breach of the best diplomatic manners which would be especially unbecoming in a nation so young at the diplomatic business as Canada, whose first Minister Plenipotentiary is scarcely a year in office. The language



BERNARD K. SANDWELL

of the American correspondence on this subject has been correctness itself.

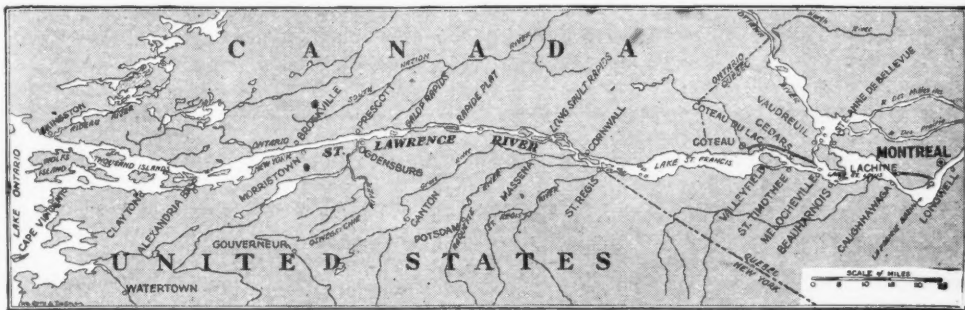
Diplomatic documents are naturally written with a view quite as much to their effect on the domestic electorate as to the interpretation which will be given to them by the Government to which they are addressed; and the American electorate may very well have assumed from the American notes that a perpetual and irrevocable investment by the United States in what Mr. Kellogg constantly refers to as a single "through system of transportation" would be accompanied by equally perpetual and irrevocable rights of American navigation throughout that system. But that assumption can only be reached by giving a certain interpretation to the language of the American notes; other interpretations are possible, and until no other interpretation is possible the only tactful course is for Canada to assume that the United States does not propose any further modification of the sovereign rights of the Dominion in waterways lying wholly within her own ter-

ritory, even when the Secretary of State writes that "the use of the waterway should be properly safeguarded by treaties between the two countries," and adds a little later that "the entire subject of treaty negotiation need not be postponed until the termination of these discussions" about the engineering problems.

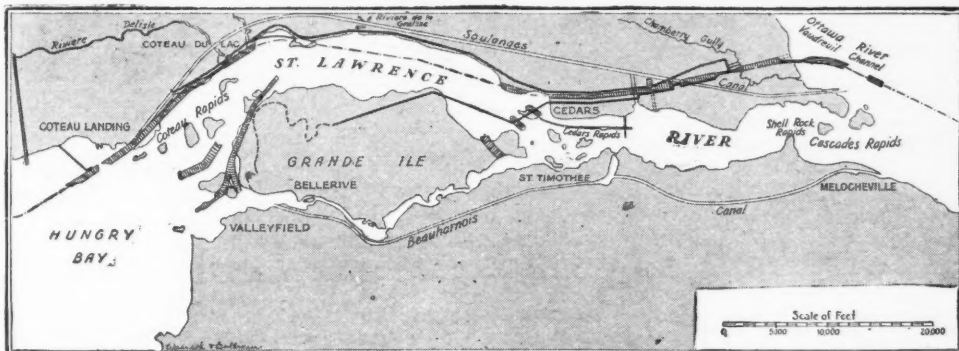
What are the rights "now assured to the

United States under existing treaties" which, in the unanimous opinion of the Canadian National Advisory Committee, should not be increased by the proposed treaty, no matter how large be the sums expended by the United States toward the creation of the "through system of transportation"?

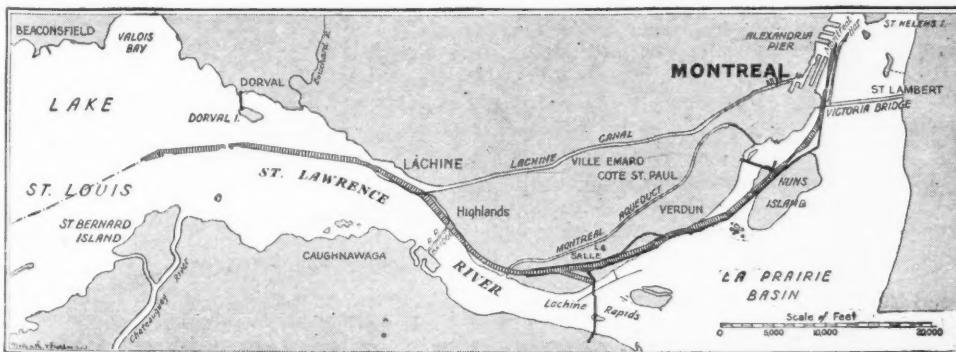
In the first place it is important that it



Map No. 1, showing the St. Lawrence River between Lake Ontario and Montreal



Map No. 2, showing the Soulanges section of the St. Lawrence waterway project



Map No. 3, showing the Lachine section of the St. Lawrence waterway project

should be borne in mind that the St. Lawrence waterway, regarded as a through route from the Great Lakes to the ocean, falls into two political divisions. One of these consists entirely of boundary waters; the other consists entirely of Canadian waters; no part of it is entirely American water. Further, that part of it which is entirely Canadian is the link between the international part and the ocean; without that link the international part has no connection with the sea.

As regards the international part, no dif-

done so. In such circumstances the possession of a side canal has no strategic value, and no objection is likely to be raised by one riparian power to the use of its canals by the shipping of the other.

The situation in the purely Canadian section, which is the key to the inland section when the two sections together are regarded as a single deep waterway, is absolutely different. This section extends from the head of Lake St. Francis (where the New York State boundary leaves the river) to the sea, and has been the subject



Lachine Rapids

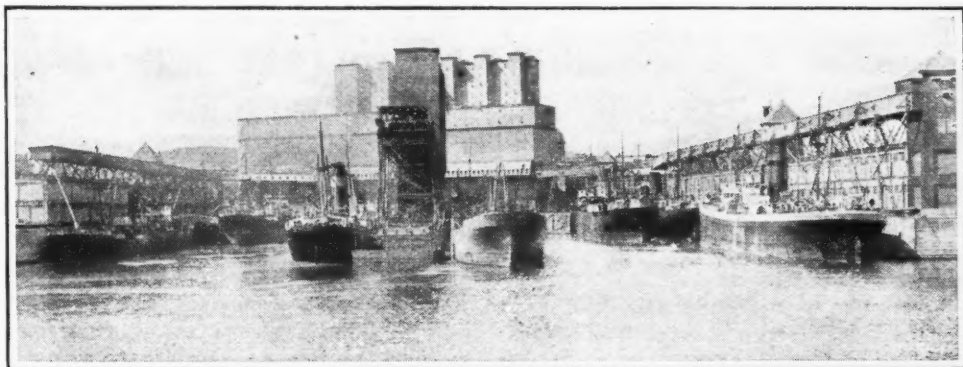
Courtesy Canadian Pacific

ficulty, no probable cause of misunderstanding, presents itself. The principles of international law governing boundary waters are quite clear and little disputed, and are embodied, for the purposes of administration in this particular water boundary, in a treaty of 1909 which is likely to satisfy both countries so far as navigation is concerned for many generations to come. These principles govern the common channel "between main shore and main shore" of the boundary waters; and any likelihood of dispute about side canals is obviated by the fact that both countries can at need provide themselves with such canals wherever required, and in the case of the Sault Ste. Marie rapids have already

of differences of opinion between the Canadian (or British) and American Governments for over a century.

THE TREATY OF 1871

Early in the nineteenth century the United States developed the doctrine of the "natural" right of a riparian State on the upper reaches of a navigable river to use the lower reaches for access to the sea. Demands for the recognition of this right in the case of the St. Lawrence were made to the British Government at intervals from the close of the War of 1812 until the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, when the practical results were attained without recognition of the principle, by including the navigation



Courtesy Canadian Pacific

The Harbor of Montreal, on the St. Lawrence River. Montreal is now the second greatest port in North America

of the St. Lawrence among the favors exchanged by the two Governments during the lifetime of the treaty.

When this treaty was denounced by the United States in 1866 the American navigation rights were again extinguished. But the Alabama Claims in 1871 gave the United States a very strong leverage for pressing their demands, and by the Treaty of Washington American commerce secured a perpetual right to the use of the St. Lawrence River ascending and descending from and to the sea.

If the treaty had stopped at that point a very strong claim could obviously have

been set up by the United States for the use of the canals between Lake St. Francis and the sea, without which the right to use the St. Lawrence is somewhat illusory, at any rate in an "ascending" direction. But one of the British negotiators was the very astute Canadian, Sir John A. Macdonald, and he succeeded in interpolating a clause which specifically covered the canals and thereby withdrew them from the "perpetual" clause: they are treated as if they were beyond the control of the contracting parties, and are subjected only to an agreement by which the two Governments undertake to "urge" the local authorities (the



Courtesy Canadian Pacific

The Heights of Quebec, with the Chateau Frontenac looking out on the St. Lawrence River

various States possessing canals in the upper reaches in the case of the United States, and the Dominion as owner of the lower canals in the case of Great Britain), to open them respectively to use by the people of the other contracting country.

This clause has obviously no binding or permanent effect, and no claim has ever been made that it had. It means simply that as soon as either contracting party ceases to be able to persuade its local authorities to open their canals, the other party ceases to be under any obligation to do the same; and it was so interpreted by the United States in a controversy concerning certain alleged discriminatory tolls in 1892. Save for this alleged discrimination, the Canadian St. Lawrence canals have actually been open to the United States from 1871 to the present time, but they are open only in virtue of this very tenuous agreement concerning them, and of the firm belief of the Canadian people that this agreement should be kept in force so long as the United States is willing and so long as conditions continue to make it advantageous to Canada. The opening of the canals, whether by the Dominion or by the various States, is and continues to be a voluntary act; they can be closed at any time without other result than the closing of the canals of the other party; the sovereign right of each party over its own territory and property is unimpaired.

The language of the National Advisory Committee means that the Canadian people do not desire to accept any greater measure of obligation to keep their canals open to American commerce than this which now exists; that they are not willing to undertake such an obligation even in exchange for a very large cash contribution by the United States toward the construction of the proposed "through system of transportation," which, as a through system, would admittedly be of great economic benefit to Canada. It represents a feeling that there is something about the nature of sovereignty rights which renders them incapable of being expressed in terms of dollars and cents, and therefore of being bargained for in exchange for financial considerations.

That feeling is probably just as strong in the United States as it is in Canada. Fortunately it is possible to draw an exact

American parallel to the Canadian case of the St. Lawrence. The United States possesses a great internal navigation route in the shape of the Mississippi. This route is capable, by artificial means, of being made a continuous route between the international waters of the Great Lakes and the ocean at New Orleans, just as the St. Lawrence is capable by artificial means, of being made a continuous route between the same international waters and the ocean at Quebec. But it does not appear likely that the United States would consent to grant to Canada any perpetual navigation rights upon such a route through purely American territory, even if Canada were to pay the whole cost of the Chicago Canal.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTY

In connection with the distinction drawn in the Treaty of 1871 between the navigation of the natural channels of the river (which was granted to the United States in perpetuity) and the navigation of the artificial canals alongside of it, should be pointed out that this did not arise out of any desire on the part of the British negotiators to "put anything over" on the American diplomats (which would indeed have been extremely difficult in the circumstances), but was the logical result of the peculiar constitutional limitation upon the treaty-making power of the United States Government. That Government cannot, even by treaty, confer any rights over the property of the individual States, and it could not, therefore, open to Canadian navigation any canal, however closely connected with the St. Lawrence waterway and however vital to its successful navigation, which was under State authority.

The British Government is under no such constitutional limitation; but it could not logically be expected to exert in favor of the United States a sovereign authority which the United States could not exert in favor of the British. The position of Canada was therefore assimilated, for the purposes of this treaty, to that of a State in the United States, and both Governments contented themselves with the undertaking to use their good offices each in favor of the other with the local authority.

MONTREAL, CANADA.

Ireland's New Era of Law and Order

By BOLTON C. WALLER

IRISH AUTHOR AND EXPERT ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

THE political situation in the Irish Free State has undergone a transformation in the past year or so. It has been a time of great tension and anxiety. Two general elections have taken place in rapid succession. One of our ablest statesmen has been foully assassinated. At times it has seemed likely that the country might slip back into a fresh period of disorder and bloodshed. But now it is felt that we have come through our difficulties to greater tranquility, and that there are substantial gains to set against our losses. The chief gain is this, that all the elected representatives of the people have now taken their seats in the national Parliament and acknowledge its authority. Whatever be the aims of the Republican section for the future, they now intend to pursue them, not by agitation or violence in the country, but by the use of the constitutional organs of the State. Constitutionalism has triumphed.

To explain how this has come about is a rather complicated story. It will be convenient to give at the outset a table showing the position of parties as it was before the dissolution of the Dail in May, 1927, and again after the two elections of June and September, 1927. The total number of Deputies is 152, not including the Speaker, who is returned unopposed and is therefore omitted from the table:

POSITION OF PARTIES IN DAIL EIREANN

	At Disso- lution in May, 1927	Election of June, 1927	Election of Sept., 1927
Cumann na nGaedheal (Government Party).....	58	46	61
Farmers' Party	14	11	6
Independents	15	14	12
National League	2	8	2
Labour Party	15	22	13
Clann Eireann	2	0	0
Fianna Fail (Moderate Republicans)	22	44	57
Sinn Fein (Extreme Re- publicans)	23	5	0
Independent Republicans. 1		2	0
Communist	0	0	1

In May, 1927, the Dail was dissolved and the election of its successor took place on June 9. President Cosgrave's Government,

which had held office ever since the acceptance of the Treaty Settlement in 1922 (though its personnel has undergone a gradual change) appealed for support on its record of constructive work, and on the need of continuity in government. The Republicans, though split into the two sections known as Sinn Fein and Fianna Fail—the former, more extreme, under Miss McSwiney, and the latter, more moderate, under Eamon de Valera—were agreed in refusing to recognize the treaty or the Free State, or to enter the Dail. The Labour Party and the Farmers' Party formed compact groups, claiming support for economic rather than political reasons. The National League was in effect a revival of the old Irish Parliamentary Party, which had fought for Home Rule in the British Parliament till the Sinn Fein movement swept it away in 1918. Clann Eireann was a group which had broken away from the Government Party and stood half way between them and Fianna Fail. In addition there were a number of independent candidates, mostly men of strong local influence or representing particular interests, industrial or otherwise.

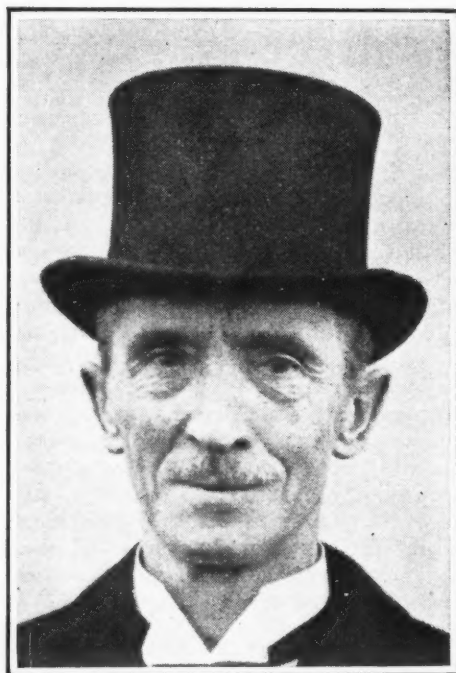
A number of factors worked against the success of the Government Party. Any Government which has had a long period of office, especially in disturbed times when strong action is necessary, is bound to incur unpopularity. The "swing of the pendulum" tells against it. But what dismayed supporters of the Free State was not the losses of the Government, but the fact that the Republican Parties, taken together, had maintained, and even improved, their position. It had been generally supposed that the country was tired of their policy of abstention. The election showed that this was not the case, since about one-third of the voters proclaimed their adherence to that policy. Nevertheless, the more moderate section gained ground heavily at the expense of the extremists, whose party was reduced to six.

The June election thus created a situa-

tion of great uncertainty. No party held a clear majority. Mr. Cosgrave and his colleagues hesitated as to taking office, but eventually decided to do so, and he was re-elected President when the Dail met. Though the Government Party held less than one-third of the total seats, they were fairly certain of a majority in the House, so long as the Republicans continued to abstain. Nor did it appear likely that, even if Fianna Fail should enter the Dail, the Government would be easily upset, as such a development would tend to rally the smaller groups more firmly to its support.

THE MURDER OF KEVIN O'HIGGINS

But then took place that terrible event which changed the whole course of politics. On a Sunday morning, on his way to attend Mass, Kevin O'Higgins, Vice President and Minister for Justice, was murdered. The actual perpetrators are still unknown. Mr. de Valera and other Republicans repudiated and condemned it, and can be absolved from any responsibility. It may have been due simply to a private vendetta. Much more probably it was the work of a secret society of desperate men on the extreme wing of the Republican movement. Such societies have continued to exist since the crushing of resistance to the Free State, and there is no doubt that, of all the members of the Government, Mr. O'Higgins was the man whom they would most desire to put out of the way, since he was known to have been the most resolute in putting down violence. In the personal sense his loss was irreparable. Ever since the deaths of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins in the Summer of 1922, the brunt of government had fallen on President Cosgrave and Mr. O'Higgins, who showed himself a real lover of freedom and of democratic government. It was he who, at a time when the country was still in a state of turmoil, established the new police force, the Civic Guard, and sent them out, unarmed, to preserve order, an action which many people thought reckless in its trustfulness, but which was entirely justified by the result. It was he who insisted that the army should be taken entirely out of politics and made subordinate to the civil authorities. In fact, it was largely due to his trust in the plain people of Ireland that Ireland avoided a Dictatorship and yet



Times Wide World

JAMES MacNEILL

Governor General of the Irish Free State

won back to peace. He held steadily to the Free State as being the best thing for Ireland. As he expressed it himself, "Challenged from the right, challenged from the left, we keep the middle of the road."

The murder of O'Higgins not merely removed one of the wisest and most far-seeing of our statesmen, who still seems absolutely irreplaceable, it also led to a drastic alteration of the policy of the Government. It is wholly unjust to accuse of panic men who have carried their lives in their hands for years, but there is no doubt that they were greatly upset both by the murder of their colleague and by the proof thus given that an underground conspiracy still existed. They determined to deal with the greatest firmness with the criminal elements and at the same time to strike at their political opponents of the Republican parties, whose abstention from the Dail and agitation in the country, even if not intended to promote violence, yet preserved that atmosphere of uncertainty in which violence was likely to continue. They therefore introduced three bills, one a public safety bill giving greater

powers to deal with crime; the second providing that candidates for election to the Dail should, at nomination, make a declaration that, if elected, they would take the oath and their seats (thus striking at the abstention policy of the Republicans), and the third to remove from the Constitution the power to introduce the popular initiative in legislation, which the Republicans proposed to use as a means of getting rid of the oath. The Public Safety bill aroused strong opposition, not merely from the Republicans, but also from some of the smaller parties in the Dail. The Labor Party fought it strongly throughout its course and were joined by most of the members of Mr. Redmond's National League. It appeared to many that the Government handled the situation unwisely in its readiness to irritate and antagonize these parties, who certainly could not be regarded as ready to countenance crime or disorder.

DE VALERA'S PROBLEM

Meanwhile Mr. de Valera and his followers were faced with a very difficult problem. They had now for a considerable time declared that they would be ready to enter the Dail if they were not compelled, as a preliminary, to take the oath demanded of Deputies. The oath is in the following form: "I, —, do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to his Majesty, King George V, his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." They had placed in the forefront of their policy at the previous election the removal of this oath.

For some weeks the issue remained uncertain. It was known that some of the Fianna Fail Deputies were anxious to enter the Dail, but it was believed that Mr. de Valera himself and others, standing on the principles which they had been proclaiming for years, were holding out against that course of action. But eventually it was announced that all the Deputies had decided to take the oath and enter the Dail forthwith.

This decision was announced on Aug. 11,

1927. At the same time the Deputies issued a statement in the course of which they said: "It is not uncommonly believed that the required declaration is not an oath; that the signing of it implies no contractual obligation and that it has no binding significance in conscience or in law; that, in short, it is merely an empty political formula which Deputies could conscientiously sign without becoming involved, or without involving their nation, in obligations of loyalty to the English Crown." And again: "The Fianna Fail Deputies hereby give public notice in advance to the Irish people, and to all whom it may concern, that they purpose to regard the declaration as an empty formality and repeat that their only allegiance is to the Irish nation and that it will be given to no other power or authority." The morality of this declaration can be left to the judgment of the reader. There is no doubt that it came as a shock to the country, the more especially since Mr. de Valera's reputation had been so largely based on his claim to lofty political principles and adherence to high standards of honor. It is not forgotten that the strict adherence to his Republican oath was given as his main reason for rejecting the treaty and plunging the country into civil war in 1922. By taking the Dail oath now he was felt to be denying his whole political past.

The Fianna Fail Party having taken their seats, an immediate effort was made to overthrow the Government. In this the principal rôle was played by Thomas Johnson, the leader of the Labor Party. He had become convinced that affairs were going from bad to worse owing to the hot hostility and bitter personal feelings between the two big parties, and came forward as peacemaker. His proposal was that when President Cosgrave's Government had been ejected a Coalition Government should be formed, composed of leading men of the various small parties and from among the Independents, and including no representatives of either Cumann na nGaedheal or Fianna Fail. But before this plan could be put into operation the Government had to be defeated. A motion declaring "that the Executive Council has ceased to retain the support of a majority in Dail Eireann" was put down for discussion on Aug. 16. It was plain from a counting of heads that the



Times Wide World

WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE

President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State. The Gaelic form of his name is Liam T. MacCosgair

voting would be very close. Mr. Redmond announced that his party as a whole had decided to oppose the Government, and this, to those who had carefully gone into the figures, seemed to make its defeat certain. And then an extraordinary thing happened. When the division came to be taken it was found that Mr. Jinks of Sligo, one of Mr. Redmond's supporters, was absent, having decided to abstain from voting. In consequence it was found that the voting was exactly equal, 71 for and 71 against, and by the casting vote of the Speaker the motion was declared lost and the Government remained in office. Mr. Jinks, a wholly innocuous and inconspicuous Deputy, suddenly found himself famous.

Thus for the moment the Government was saved. But obviously it could not long continue to remain in office dependent on

the Speaker's casting vote. It decided to take the bold course, and after some weeks the Dail was dissolved and a second general election announced for Sept. 15, 1927.

The circumstances of this second election were very different from those of June. It was now in the main a straight fight between Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. de Valera, and again the country had to declare whether it wanted the Free State to continue, or whether it would embark on a fresh attempt to carry out the Republican policy, though now by constitutional methods. The two large parties held the stage, and urgent appeals were made from each side to give it a clear majority, thus enabling a strong Government to be formed and freeing the country from the entanglements and bargainings of small groups. Under such circumstances it was natural that the large parties should gain ground and that the smaller should lose. A glance at the table at the beginning of this article will show how strongly these arguments worked, thus reversing the tendency which had been operative at the June election. The Farmers' Party was reduced to 6, Labor to 13, while the National League almost vanished, and Sinn Fein (the extreme Republicans) did not even put up any candidates. As between the two main parties, the position was very slightly shifted in favor of the Government, though both gained considerably, Cumann na nGaedheal increasing from 46 to 61, and Fianna Fail from 44 to 57. No party indeed secured a clear majority, and the gains that each made were mainly at the expense of their allies rather than their opponents. The Government had probably expected a more favorable result. Having first forced the hands of their opponents, and practically compelled them to enter the Dail, and having then staved off their attack, they had seemed in a strong tactical position for fighting an election. They could also make use of the shock which Fianna Fail had given to the country both by the reversal of all their former pledges in taking the oath and by the manner in which they took it. But as against this there was the Government's unpopularity with many classes and the Public Safety act, which was denounced as coercion "worse than any which a British Government had ever dared to

introduce." Thus, on the main questions the country showed no decisive change of view.

At first glance it seemed uncertain whether Mr. Cosgrave would again take office. But no other reasonable course was open, as he was at the head of the largest party and could depend for backing on most questions from the Farmers and Independents. His Government was therefore re-elected, with certain changes in personnel, and, with its allies, can command for most purposes a majority of at least six in a House of 152.

The new Dail sat until Nov. 24 and adjourned till February, 1928. The debut of the Fianna Fail Party as the official Opposition was awaited with much interest. Many people expected them to adopt a policy of pure obstruction intended to discredit the Dail and the Free State. But this was not their intention. They showed regard for the dignity of the House and a readiness to discuss practical questions on their merits in a practical way, playing the part of a constitutional Opposition, prepared to take office when the time should come. This does not mean that, as a party, they have been very effective up to the present. It is not easy for men accustomed to agitation in the country to accommodate themselves to parliamentary warfare. They have much to learn regarding procedure and the detailed criticism of legislative measures, and many of their economic proposals have been crude in the extreme. Of Mr. de Valera's capabilities as a parliamentary leader, as distinct from a platform speaker, we still know little. Of his supporters Mr. Sean Lemass has been the most effective. But they are at a disadvantage when compared with the members of the Government, most of whom have now had five years of office.

EVEN BALANCE OF PARTIES

It is supposed by some that the balance of parties being still so even another general election must take place before long. But "threatened men live long," and so frequently do Governments with narrow majorities. The present administration may continue for quite a long period, or if not, some new combination might be formed to put Fianna Fail in power. The change

could now take place without the upheaval which it would have caused some years ago, since Fianna Fail is definitely committed to the use of constitutional methods.

In general, the condition of the country is felt to be far more stable, as is shown among other things by the successful flotation of the new National Loan. We have all the national representatives acknowledging and working in the National Parliament. We can turn our minds to the economic problems, which are the most pressing problems for our people. Above all, we can now say with confidence that whatever issues arise in the future they will be faced in a constitutional way, and that the times of violence are past and gone.

Further indications of the improved situation since the foregoing was written are to be seen in the speech delivered at Cork on May 5, 1928, by Mr. Cosgrave. A great deal of the old political bitterness, he declared, had disappeared since the Fianna Fail had entered the Dail; all parties were concentrating their attention on the eco-



Paramount

EAMON de VALERA
Leader of the Irish Republican Party

nomic development of the country; and it was true of all political parties now that each and every one of them was anxious to see the country advance and improve its industrial and commercial position in the world.

Mr. Cosgrave has held his own in the Dail against Mr. de Valera. On May 5, the Government's motion regarding the Gaelic-speaking districts of Connacht was carried against Mr. de Valera by a majority of 71 to 60. Three days earlier, Daniel Morrissey, the Government candidate for Deputy Speaker of the Dail, was elected in face of Mr. de Valera's opposition by 79 to 49 votes. On June 1, Mr. de Valera endeavored to eliminate the oath of allegiance for members of the Dail by a petition involving the principle of the Initiative; his motion was rejected by 71 to 59 votes.

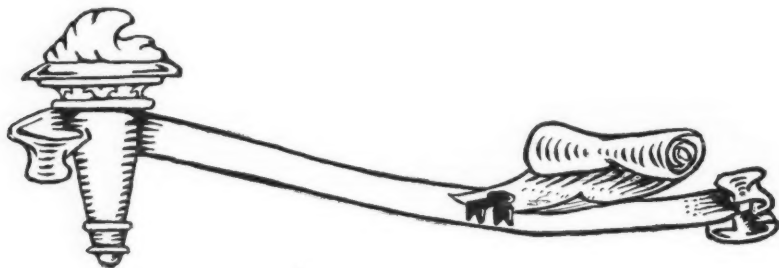
The revision of the Free State Senate has been discussed for some months. Originally Senators were nominated to hold office for twelve years, one-fourth of the total of sixty going out of office every three years. Two years ago the first election of fifteen Senators was held, the twenty-six counties of the Free State voting as a single constituency. The result was not satisfactory. The proposal supported by President Cosgrave follows the principle which prevailed in the United States before the Seventeenth Amendment was ratified in 1913: namely, that Senators should be chosen by a joint session of the two houses of the Free State legislative body. The opposition, led by Mr. de Valera, would prefer to abolish the Senate.

Important developments in this connection occurred on June 28, when, after a

strenuous debate the Dail passed all important amendments to the Constitution proposed by the Government. Under these amendments the Senate will no longer be elected by popular vote, but instead will be chosen by members of both Houses sitting together, and its power to hold up legislation will be doubled. Furthermore, the Constitution's provisions for popular initiative and referendum, on which the Republicans have so strongly insisted, though they have never yet been employed, were abolished. The Republicans, led by Mr. de Valera, vigorously fought all these measures, especially that regarding the referendum, which they declared to be a defense of popular liberties, while the Government described it as a stone-age plebiscite and a real obstruction to the popular will. Unperturbed by the Republican charge that it was attempting to set up a Dictatorship, the Government passed the legislation.

Among the industrial and commercial developments alluded to by President Cosgrave, the most important is the establishment of a factory by Henry Ford at Cork, to employ 6,000 workers; this plan, when carried out, will give the Free State a practical monopoly of the European market for the Ford car. The Free State's adverse trade balance is now \$15,000,000 less than a year ago. The revenue for the fiscal year was £27,000,000, as against £24,000,000 three years ago. In April, 1926, the population of the Irish Free State was 2,972,812, and that of Northern Ireland 1,256,322, while among the cities Dublin had 419,156 and Belfast 415,007.

DUBLIN, IRELAND.



The Danger of Unrestricted Mexican Immigration

By JAY S. STOWELL

AUTHOR OF *The Near Side of the Mexican Question* AND OTHER WORKS ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS

WHILE certain interests have pleaded for the United States to invade Mexico, that country has unostentatiously accomplished an invasion of the United States which is bound to have its effect on our future. The number of Mexicans coming into this country has steadily increased since the overthrow of the Diaz Government in Mexico in 1911, followed by the World War, the consequent demand for labor in this country and our quota law curtailing European immigration. It is difficult to estimate how large the influx has been because, though some Mexicans came to us as recognized immigrants through the regular ports of entry, many more were brought in as contract laborers under an arrangement whereby the contract labor clause, the head tax and the literacy test provided in the immigration law were temporarily suspended, while thousands more simply stepped across the line without the least formality. A recent estimate by a Mexican Consul of a group of 6,000 Mexicans seeking employment was that 5,000 of them were in the United States illegally. Some believe that that proportion is fairly typical.

During and after the war workers were needed everywhere; Mexicans were welcomed and few questions were asked. Today the situation is somewhat different. Although it is still possible for Mexicans to cross the line at will, the path of new immigrants in this country is no longer easy unless they carry proper credentials. Labor agencies are more insistent on this point than ever before and immigration inspectors are more active. Attempts to defeat the law have led to strange manoeuvres. At times ranchers have kept guards posted so that, at the approach of an immigration inspector, a gun might be fired and Mexican laborers illegally in this country might seek cover until the danger had passed. More recently an informal understanding

has been reached with representatives of the Bureau of Immigration providing for the payment by certain Mexicans of the head tax by instalments. When payment is completed, the Mexican involved crosses the line into Mexico and then is permitted to return as a legal immigrant.

The number of Mexicans in this country is variously estimated at from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 and even higher; 1,200,000 is probably a conservative estimate based on actual information. They have so thoroughly incorporated themselves into the life of Texas, Arizona and California that their sudden withdrawal would paralyze the industrial and economic life of large areas. To a smaller extent that is true of New Mexico, Colorado and Kansas in regard to specialized industries in other States.

The Mexican raises Bermuda onions by the thousands of bushels in Texas; he picks cotton, not only in Texas, but in Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee, where he has in some communities replaced negro labor for that purpose. The growers of the Great Western Sugar Company alone employ about 2,000 Mexicans to grow 293,000 acres of beets. The amazing developments in the Salt River and Gila River valleys of Arizona are Mexican products. In California the Mexican has made possible the development of the Imperial Valley, with its manifold productions. He dominates the lima bean empire; he picks walnuts; he raises citrus fruit; he is particularly skilled in horticultural work, and, in fact, has made himself indispensable to Southern California. In Pittsburgh, Pa., and a dozen other places he helps make steel, and in Alaska he cans salmon. There are thousands of Mexicans at work in Chicago. At least 5,000 are employed in the beet fields of the North Platte Valley of Nebraska. Another substantial colony is engaged in similar work in the Red River Valley of North Dakota, and still another colony centres around

the plants of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company of Pueblo. Joliet, Ill., has 1,000 Mexicans and Aurora, 1,400. The Columbia Sugar Company of Michigan employs 400 Mexican families. Toledo has a Mexican population of 2,500, and Newark, N. J., of 2,000. The places just mentioned are but typical of many more.

MEXICANS ON RAILROADS

The Mexican has made an important place for himself in the railroads of the country. Thousands are employed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad on all its lines, and other thousands on the Rock Island. From information available we estimate nearly 10,000 Mexicans on these two systems alone. The Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad reports 3,000; the Great Northern Railroad from 500 to 1,000 (varying with the season); the Southern Pacific Lines, 4,276 in Texas and Louisiana alone; the Northern Pacific several hundred and the Pennsylvania Lines 1,290 regular Mexican employes and several hundred additional seasonal workers.

In spite of the popular impression which often points to the contrary, the Mexican is a good worker, but that does not mean a perfect worker. He is sensitive, and sometimes he fails to appear next day if his foreman has been unduly abusive. He has no watch and may be late for work. He is often undernourished and poorly housed, and he has had little training in thrift.

Probably no single group in the United States is suffering more seriously from the evils of seasonal employment than is the Mexican. The beet sugar industry, in which so many of them are employed, is typical. Technically, the beet season begins in the early Spring and the beet harvest is not completed until well into November. Actually the working period is very limited, although it extends over six or seven months, from May to November. The hand work in the beet fields is done by contract, and the price per acre in 1926 in Colorado, which is the most important sugar-beet producing State, ranged from \$21 to \$24. One Mexican can usually care for about ten acres. During the slack periods the Mexican is free to seek other work if he can find it, but he must be on hand to care for the beets when his help is needed. From the

last of November till the next May he is likely to be unemployed.

The living conditions growing out of this system of seasonal employment have at times been very bad, although employers are coming to see that crude, unsanitary shacks are in the long run a poor business investment as well as a social menace. A study made in 1925 by the National Child Labor Committee of 330 families on the western slope of Colorado showed that the children were retarded in every way and that boys and girls of school age were employed at arduous labor. It has been the custom in the beet country to recruit workers each Spring from border towns or from Spanish-American groups in New Mexico. There is a growing conviction, however, that such a labor turnover is poor economy, and definite efforts are being made to care for the workers during the Winter so that they will be on hand for the next crop.

In California there is a marked tendency for agricultural workers to congregate in Los Angeles during the "off" seasons. San Antonio and El Paso are favorite rallying centres in Texas. Many, of course, go to Mexico for a limited period and return with the arrival of Spring. If they do not remain longer than six months in Mexico they are treated as visitors, and may return to the United States without legal difficulty.

STABILIZING TENDENCY

Although the Mexican has moved about a great deal since coming to the United States, he shows a marked tendency toward stabilization. A striking illustration is to be found in Los Angeles, probably the greatest single Mexican centre in the country. Here, during the past five or six years, as soon as his economic status permitted, the Mexican has been deserting the downtown Plaza district for the suburbs, where tens of thousands of Mexicans are now living in their own little homes hedged in with colorful flower gardens. Their children attend modern public schools, and they and their children's children will color California history for generations to come.

Legally the Mexican is a "white" man; yet a few communities insist that his chil-

dren shall be enrolled in the colored schools, and in cases where there is no such school separate Mexican schools are sometimes maintained.

Racial prejudice takes many forms. Not many months ago a capable young man of Mexican parentage walked into the office of a Mexican Consul in Texas and asked if he could renounce his United States citizenship and gain a Mexican status. He had been born in Texas, had grown up in the public schools of the State and had served with the Army overseas. Recently he was drawn on a jury panel and then rejected by one of the lawyers in the case involved because of his Mexican extraction. "I was good enough to fight," said he, "but I am insulted when drawn on a jury."

Probably most friction in Texas is produced by labor contracts. Many cases of dishonest dealing with Mexicans, particularly on the part of cotton growers, have created a scandalous situation. An organization, known as La Comision Honorifica, has come into existence for the purpose of assisting Mexican laborers to obtain satisfaction from their employers. One trick played by employers is to get the Mexican deported just as the crop which he has raised and in which he is supposed to share comes to harvest. In all dealings the American, of course, has the advantage, and his contracts are full of loopholes which can be used for his advantage. Nothing is of greater urgency than fair business dealings with the Mexican. At present he is exploited by employers and by ruthless agents who persuade him to buy useless articles at exorbitant prices. There are, however, some large concerns that have already gained a reputation for honesty with Mexicans.

FORMER MEXICAN TERRITORY

Mexican immigration to the United States cannot be fully understood unless we remember that Mexicans are coming to a territory which once belonged to Mexico and which is already populated by perhaps nearly half a million descendants of former Mexicans. When we took New Mexico and other territories of our Southwest from Mexico, according to the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), we granted citizenship to the settlers in the territory. Their descendants today are American citi-

zens in every sense of the word and eligible to the highest offices in the land, although many of them have little or no knowledge of English. In fact, one of the regular appropriations of the New Mexico Legislature for years has been for interpreters so that its own members might follow the proceedings.

In spite of the fact that Mexico is our next-door neighbor of foreign tongue and of a social heritage somewhat different from our own, we are joined to her along a border of 1,800 miles. The Rio Grande River, which can be waded at certain seasons of the year, is our most formidable barrier. At other points not so much as a wire fence separates the two countries. Thousands of Americans go across the line into Mexico each day for business and other purposes, and thousands of Mexicans come into the United States regularly to buy goods, to transact other business or to attend school. We send \$1,000,000 worth of goods into Mexico each day and we receive other products in return. In a multitude of ways the life of Mexico and the United States is inextricably interwoven.

THE MEXICAN QUOTA ISSUE

Anxiety has been caused by the increased Mexican immigration, and Secretary Davis of the Department of Labor has declared himself in favor of a Mexican quota. Many others have come to the same conclusion. At the time this article was written a bill, sponsored by Representative Box of Texas, and extending the quota provisions to immigrants from Mexico, was being considered by Congress. On the other hand, chambers of commerce along the border are pleading for the abolition of the head tax and visa fee, so that immigration may be stimulated and more help may be available for cotton picking. At present Mexican immigration is not limited by a quota, but there are other natural checks. The total of Mexican immigrants to the country fell from 89,339 in 1924 to 32,378 in 1925. The increased head tax, in the form of a \$10 visa fee, is said to have been largely responsible, although other causes have been operating. At present an adult Mexican immigrant must pay a total of \$18 to cross the line—\$10 for an American consular visa and \$8 as head tax. Chil-

dren under 16 years of age are exempted from the head tax, but are subject to the visa fee. These charges automatically cut off a large portion of the Mexican immigration stream. There is also in Mexico a movement to discourage emigration to the United States. The increased activity of immigration inspectors tends likewise to reduce the number of illegal entrants.

The steady improvement of conditions in Mexico, including the establishment of rural schools, is also doing much to make the Mexican contented at home. Although he now has friends and relatives in the United States, he does not come here because he loves this country, but rather to better his economic condition and to secure educational advantages for his children.

MEXICAN CITIZENSHIP PREFERRED

The Mexican rarely becomes a naturalized American citizen. There are at least two reasons for this. One is that the homeland is never far away; the other that he is not sure whether he would be fairly treated if he threw his lot permanently with this country. He sees too much injustice meted out to his people. Last year in one

consular district alone in Texas twenty-two young men, born and educated in the United States, walked into the Mexican Consul's office and declared themselves citizens of Mexico. These young men had just reached 21 years of age. They had never lived in Mexico, but they were so doubtful that they would receive just treatment in the United States that they did not have faith enough to inspire them to become citizens of the United States, but preferred to risk the future as Mexicans.

The situation along our Mexican border is complex and it will never be anything else. It demands mutual understanding and a sense of fair play. Difference in language is a handicap to fraternity. We need desperately a genuinely bilingual border. Any progress in teaching Spanish to citizens of the United States and teaching English to Mexicans is a real social gain. The Mexican is here to stay, and his children's children will be with us so long as the United States is a country. A man may desert his wife and abandon his children, but the United States can never run away from Mexico. If we will, we shall find Mexico worthy of better understanding and abiding friendship.

Other Aspects of the Problem

By C. M. GOETHE

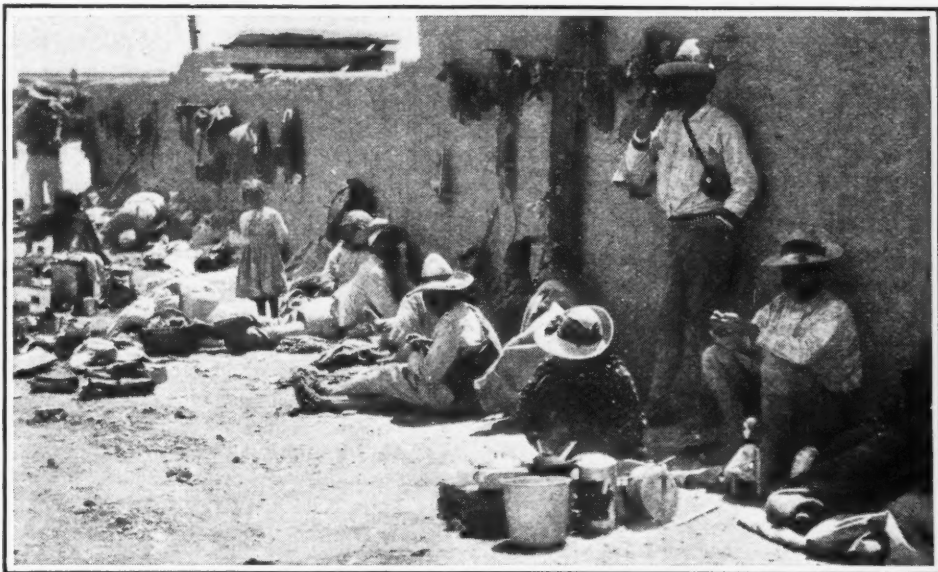
PRESIDENT, IMMIGRATION STUDY COMMISSION

IT was two decades ago, in a steaming jungle of the Vera Cruz hinterland. British mills were in the neighborhood and most of their peons understood English. An American sociologist, seeing a peon with a bunch of deliciously ripe bananas, asked the cost of a dozen. There was bargaining back and forth in the good old Mexican style, and the price was finally fixed at 10 centavos, about 5 American cents. Imagine the sociologist's surprise when he was handed the entire banana bunch. The Mexican then shouted to some companions squatted in the shade of a nearby adobe: "I skinned this Gringo out of diez (ten) centavos for the bunch." His boast was significant. He had not only gained nearly a third of a day's wages

through a stroke of his machete and five minutes' skillful bargaining; he had in addition the joy of contemptuously calling his victim "Gringo."

The term "Gringo" goes back to a time when a few tall blond Scots served Chile in the War of Liberation from Spain. These often sang Bobby Burns's song "Green Grow the Rushes, Oh." Thus "Green-grows," now "Gringos," came to contain the south-of-the-Rio-Grande *mestizo's* concept of race consciousness in contrasting himself with his tall, blond Northern neighbor.

The Mexican peon does not love the Gringo. He does, however, like Anglo-Saxon living standards. His kind, therefore, is pouring over the border in an almost del-



Underwood

Mexicans who fled during the revolution to the United States border, awaiting admission to this country

uge-like stream. They fill the vacuum caused by the Quota act's barring of European labor. They come in third, in fourth hand Fords, often held together by baling wire. They bring along their women, their children. Why should they not move into the land of stable government? North of the line are no bloodthirsty Villas, no forced conscription. Then, too, there is the generous wage standard. Though the Mexican daily wage is no longer the 17 cents American gold of 1908, it is, however, still far below the American standard of living. Because of his eagerness to earn the north-of-the-line wage, the Mexican remains not merely a cheap laborer. He is even more. He is a docile laborer and will live uncomplainingly under conditions which disclose his Indian origins.

It is principally the low-caste Mexican, or "Amerind," who comes to us. The "white" Mexican never steals by night across the border, and when he comes it is seldom for permanent residence. He can live too comfortably at home on the labor of scores of peons, who are virtually slaves.

When one declares that the Mexican peon is intellectually low-powered, one does not fail in appreciation of the Aztec, the Toltec, the Maya, the Inca Amerind civilizations.

It is one of the tragedies of history that these were destroyed. Apparently, the intellectual castes of these civilizations were those of the warrior, the priest. These proud men resisted the Spaniard to the death. Against his firearms, against his cavalry they opposed the weapons of an obsidian culture and were annihilated. It was only the peon slaves, attached to soil owned by the priestly and warrior castes, which persisted. They were docile then, and they remain docile today.

Intelligence tests made of California school children have shown that the Mexican children are of markedly low-powered intellect. They tested uniformly far below those of American stock, ranking with the negro, the Portuguese, the Sicilian. Thus the peon trek into the Great Valley of California and our border States brings an addition to our population that is unfortunately not only racially different, but also intellectually inferior. It is also a group that is most fecund. Recently a Los Angeles Mexican applied for charity funds to provide hair cuts for his thirty-three children. This is, of course, an extreme case. By the fourth generation, however, he would, at the same rate, become the progenitor of 1,185,921 descendants. In other words, it

would take 14,641 American fathers to produce as many children, at a three-child family rate, to equal the descendants of this one Mexican father four generations hence. He is evidently, moreover, of a type that does not hesitate to beg for charity. At a large-family contest held recently at a Western State Fair, the first prize went to a Mexican family of sixteen children; the second prize, to a Portuguese family of fifteen children, and the third prize, to another Mexican family of thirteen children.

Once we believed that these Mexicans could be Americanized. However, a study of conditions in New Mexico by the late Gino Speranza challenges this. New Mexico became American territory at the close of the Mexican War, and American institutions, including the public school, followed our flag into this area. Nearly eighty years have since passed. Yet, wrote Mr. Speranza: "It cost the New Mexican House during one recent session one-fifth of its appropriations for employes for translators and interpreters." That item, he declared, "means that there are members, duly elected to the Lower House of New Mexico, who today cannot transact their legislative business in English."

The eugenic menace of the introduction of a low-powered yet rapidly breeding group into our population mass is, of course, profoundly serious. Expert estimates of the number of Mexicans now living in the United States indicate a Mexican population of from three to four millions. The eugenic effect will, of course, be felt, but slowly. A more apparent and immediate consequence is the displacement of the white laborer by the Mexican peon. In some sections signs are being actually displayed, "No white labor wanted. Only Mexicans need apply." An Eastern professor recently declared that we are witnessing the passing of the Nordic farmer in the West, and one big Western land-owner even boasts that his estates are farmed by Mexicans under Japanese foremen. The Mexican, with his low living standards, is a tremendous burden to our relief agencies. Our border cities are becoming surrounded with Mexican slum belts, and our relief costs are mounting because the peon requires relief out of all proportion to his numbers. Judge Box, author of the bill to restrict Mexican immigration,

which is now before Congress, recently issued a statement that Los Angeles, with a population approximately 5 per cent. Mexican, shows Mexican charity case percentages as follows: Outdoor Relief Division, 27 per cent.; Catholic Charities Bureau, 53.3 per cent.; General Hospital, 43 per cent.; City Maternity Service, 62½ per cent.

It is the problem of sanitation, however, that may most quickly jolt the American public into a realization of the menace of unrestricted Mexican immigration. Vincente Espinosa's case is typical. Two Espinosa children contracted smallpox. Their home was quarantined. Vincente had, however, the Mexican passion for gambling, and despite the quarantine, he slipped out to the pool room. Two men contracted the disease from him. Both died. Before dying, they passed the disease on to ten others. Of these three more died. Vincente was sentenced to thirty days in jail. These five deaths illustrate the need of a quota.

San Francisco's Commonwealth Club scientifically studied the problem of displacement of racial groups within a nation through the influx of the immigrants of low economic standards, and it reports that, had America admitted no immigrants since 1800, we not only would have practically the same manpower that we have today, but that it would be racially homogeneous. We would not have become partially Balkanized. If this be true, America today faces the question of bringing Mexico under the quota law if she wishes to conserve her present racial elements or by continuing unrestricted Mexican immigration, allowing the injection of another color group. If the latter, can we escape further hybridization of the American stock and will not the newcomers even actually displace it in part? The negro population of America at the time of the Revolution was perhaps half a million. Today we have about 10,000,000 negroes. Even if Mexico were placed under the Quota law today and if no peons were deported in the future, we would already have the nucleus of a color problem, which, according to estimates, is six to eight times as large as the negro nucleus was in 1776. If we fail to place Latin America under the quota, what will the Americans of tomorrow say about those of us who are "carrying on" today?

Spitsbergen, the Land of Eternal Snow

By HANS P. DREYER

SPITSBERGEN, which has come into so much prominence since airmen have been using it as base for flights to the North Pole must make many people wonder what sort of a land it is.

Twenty-seven years ago, when a boy in Northern Norway, I was standing on the dock in Tromsø watching Roald Amundsen supervise the *Gjoa*, the one-masted sailing ship in which he made the Northwest passage. He was an unknown skipper then. The others laughed at him and said, as they shook their heads: "It's foolish to try to get to the North Pole or around to the American mainland. Thousands have tried it and never returned." But Roald Amundsen was one of these dogged old Vikings who, when the goal was set, never gave up until he had located it. He not only made the Northwest passage, but also discovered the South Pole and the Magnetic Pole, as well as flying across the North Pole last year. [Amundsen's recent flight to find Nobile is treated elsewhere in this magazine.]

For about a thousand years the hardy men of Northern Norway have made Spitsbergen, part of Greenland and the White Sea their Summer hunting grounds for seal, walrus, musk ox, reindeer and other game. All the way from Aalesund as far north as Vadsø, where the Italia started, every town and city has sailing vessels or motor ships that go forth every Spring to battle with the ice floes in the gamble with nature for game. About 250 ships in all go every year. They do not always return. The toll in human life is frightful, although it is getting better and safer as scientific methods and modern appliances are employed by these small ships.

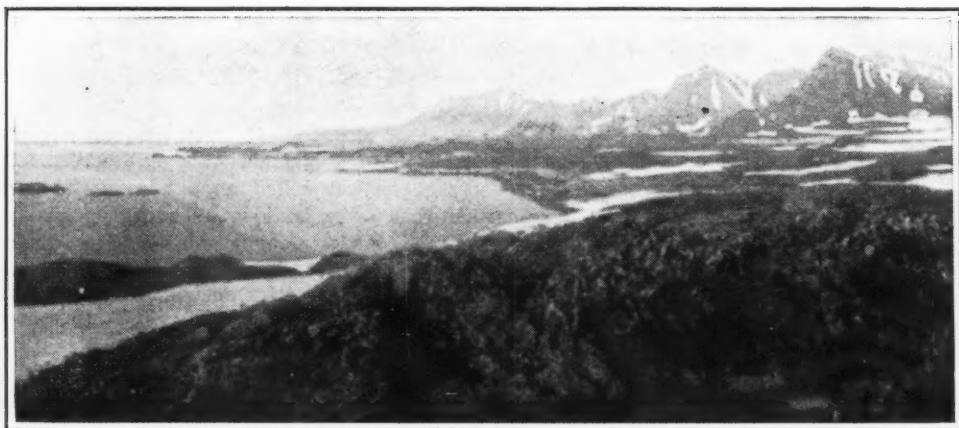
Each ship employs about twelve to fifteen men and has two large boats called *fangstbaats* (huntingboats), and to each boat is assigned a sharpshooter. The others are oarsmen, from six to seven on each boat. The sharpshooter stands in the bow, and when he sees a school of seal or walrus or a lone polar bear, he signals to the men to be quiet as the boat slowly glides toward

the place where the game is. The man in the bow either shoots from the boat or enters the ice and walks and hunts on it. After he has killed enough game to load the boat, the boat returns to the mother ship, unloads and goes off to the ice floes to hunt again.

When the mother ship is loaded to capacity, which takes from two to three months, it returns to Norway and unloads its cargo. The revenue thus derived usually brings enough money for each man to live on until next Spring, when the hunting season starts once more. One trip a year is the usual procedure, although occasionally a ship may make two trips if it should happen to run into a large school of seal right at the start.

The greatest ambition of the captains of these ships is to capture alive the elusive and ferocious polar bear. Some do and receive a bonus, as these animals are always in demand by zoological gardens and circus owners. When a bear is sighted, and it is taken for granted that it is not hungry, and so easier to capture, a trap is set. The bear is then chased on the ice into the trap in which there is a long rope with a loop hole. It takes sometimes twenty-four hours to subdue one of these great bears. Then it becomes necessary to go back to the ship to get one of the wooden boxes with iron bars in which to keep the bear, as it is almost impossible to keep the animal quiet in the boat.

The hunting season lasts from the middle of May until the middle of August when the North Atlantic is pretty well clear of ice and the sun shines day and night. To the hunters the midnight sun is nothing extraordinary. It is nature's benevolent way of enabling them to work almost twenty-four hours during the light season. In the winter months, when there is no sun at all for three months, they have the marvelous spectacle of the aurora borealis flashing across the heavens and lighting up the atmosphere at night so that it is possible to read a book in the street without artificial light. Travel by airplane or airship will be the only mode of transpor-



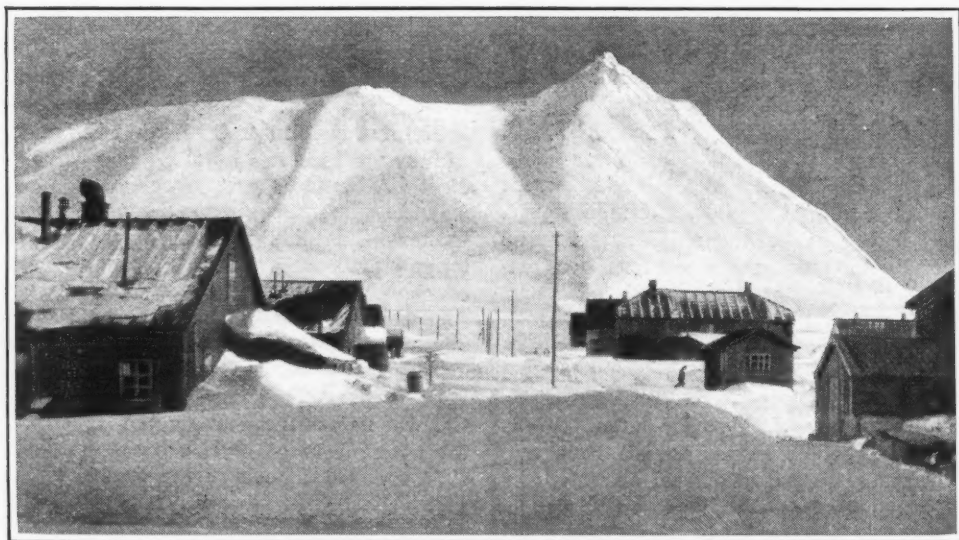
From Rudmore Brown's *Spitzbergen*

Prince Charles Foreland, Spitzbergen. View along the West coast looking northward from Cape Cold. Mount Allan in the foreground and Mount Jessie in the distance

tation in the Arctic in the future. To attempt to make the voyage by ship is useless except for about three months in the Summer.

This Spring, thirteen ships went out from Tromsø on their annual hunt, and a report from one of the captains tells a graphic story of the hardships of these people. This is what he says: "We had just got right into the pack ice when suddenly a huge iceberg came along, and in the twinkle of an eye the ship was lying dry on the berg and

in another minute crushed like an eggshell. The crew were all experienced men and escaped, but they lost all their belongings. They were picked up by another ship as soon as the danger had passed. The slush of ice and snow in the hunting field became so bad that it was impossible to see open water even through the most powerful glasses. The ship that rescued the men was crushed the next day, but its crew also was rescued. In cases of this kind, where there is immediate danger, the ships always

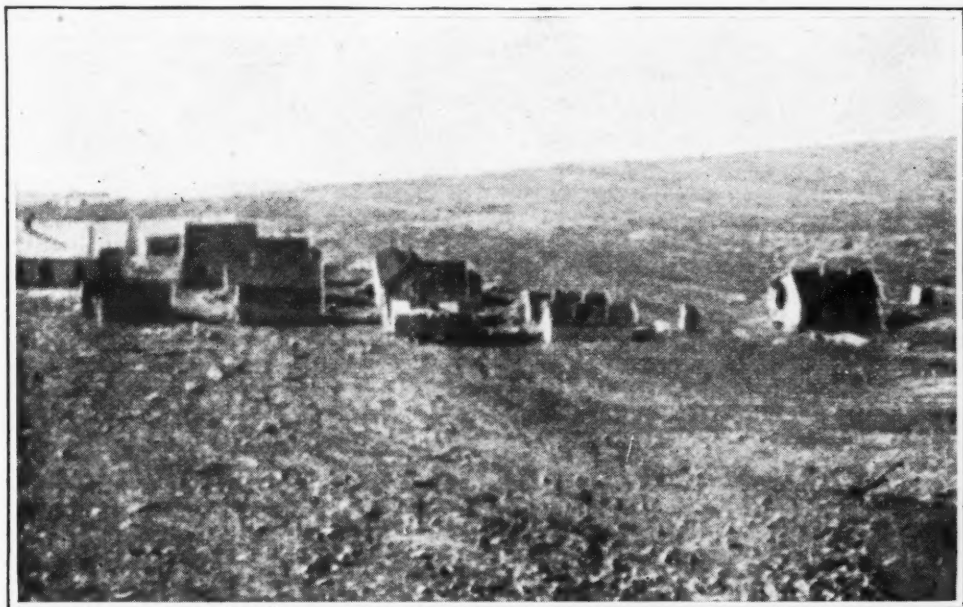


The main street, King's Bay, Spitzbergen

keep together, so that if one gets into trouble the others can help. It took fourteen days for the rescue ship to manoeuvre itself out of the ice floes."

Another case is the wreck of the Remo this Spring. The captain of this ship also was saved, together with his men. This is his story: "It was 11 o'clock at night. The ice was screwing with a terrific force, and

to save themselves as best they could and all ran on to icebergs near by. A minute afterward we saw our ship hurled into the air and then crushed and churned to pieces as the bergs came together. The pressure ceased a few minutes afterward. It seemed as though nature was relaxing for another attempt, but fortunately the pressure from without was gone, and the bergs separated



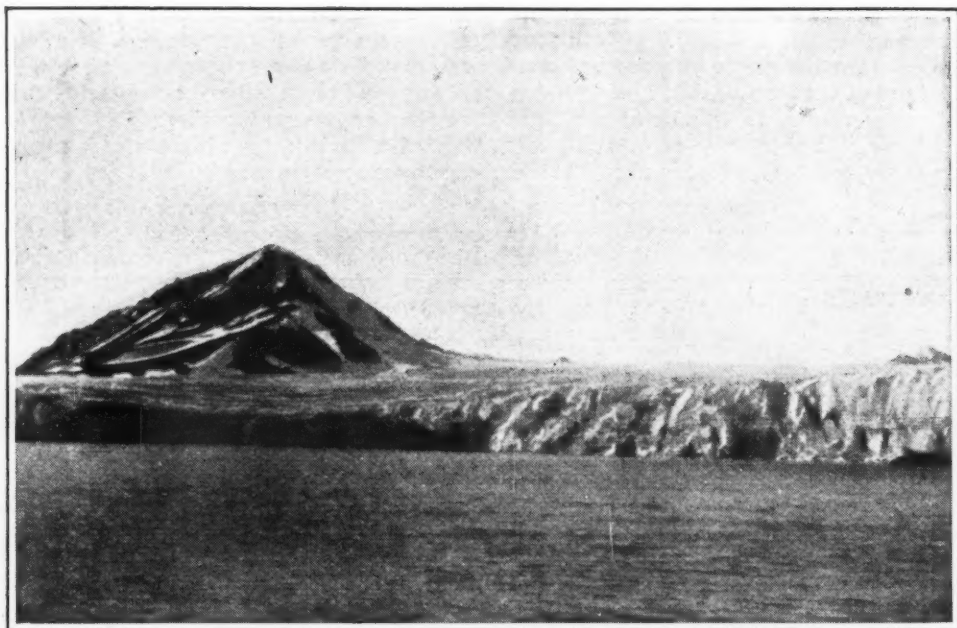
From Rudmore Brown's *Spitzbergen*

Advent City, a British mining camp, viewed from the hillside above

it was only a question of minutes when the ship would be broken up. However, I instructed the engineer who runs the motor of the ship to keep her going in case the 'squeeze' should let up. A strong Arctic wind was blowing. About midnight the water was getting into the hold and down in the engine room. I saw a huge iceberg coming from the North. Only those who have been in the North will understand what that means. It became quiet with an awe-inspiring stillness. Then a slow movement started which gained in momentum each second. Then came a terrible roar as if from a million polar bears as the huge berg toppled over everything in its way and smashed and smashed with a terrible power that only nature can have. There was nothing else for us to do. I instructed the men

and the boats near by us could move and came to our rescue. They had watched the awful drama in which nature had crushed men's effort."

Ice, ice and snow, not for miles, but for hundreds of miles everywhere, such is Spitzbergen and the North. Spitzbergen itself is a barren island with a coal mine, which is the only productive thing there. There are plenty of reindeer and wild birds, such as ducks and geese, and the country is a haven for sportsmen. Farming is out of the question. There is some moss grown on the few barren places, and this moss is the only sustenance of the reindeer. Some say that further north toward the Pole there is a fairyland with people and eternal Summer, green slopes and hot-water fountains. This is the fantastic tale of the sailors, but



From Rudmore Brown's *Spitsbergen*

A glacier face in Bell Sound, Spitsbergen



From Rudmore Brown's *Spitsbergen*

A claim board. Notice boards indicate the boundaries of mining estates

so far few have been there to tell what kind of country is located within the millions of acres of land which must be around the Pole. Nansen marched across Greenland; Byrd and Amundsen flew over the Pole; Peary went to a certain spot, but all of them made hurried trips and did not linger to do much investigating. The flights of Wilkins and Nobile, however, have recently added to the world's knowledge of the Polar regions.

Twenty-five years ago Captain Andree, the intrepid Swedish explorer, went forth to map the lands of the North Pole. The

last seen of him was when his balloon disappeared from Bjornoen. Others, hundreds of them, unknown names except to the natives of Northern Norway, have gone forth to discover or hunt—and never returned, but the people of Northern Norway still look to some one to bring back information which will enable them to know what became of the many brave men who sacrificed their lives in the Northland, from which no news ever came until recently, when aircraft and radio began to play a part in exploration, and raise new hopes of solving problems long baffling to human effort.

Hunting Big Game by Train and Auto

By IGNATIUS PHAYRE

NEW human settlements, and the network of roads and railways which go with these, together with the increasing use of high-velocity rifles on the part of tourists and even the native blacks, all tend to diminish the vast herds and troops of the larger wild beasts which once roamed throughout Africa, from Somaliland to Cape Colony, and from the Indian Ocean to the great Atlas Mountains that run down to the Atlantic in Morocco. The Uganda Railway has just recently been prolonged to the source of the Nile at Ripon Falls. "Grand Hotels" in the towns; rest houses along the jungle trails; a system of licenses and organized "safari" caravans, with motor-Pullman coaches, trackers and guides, gunbearers, tentmen and interpreters—all these facilities bring the lion, leopard and wild elephant; the rhino, hippo, zebra, giraffe and all the antelopes, from the huge eland and kudu down to the gazelles, literally within the reach of any rich and leisured traveler who chooses to sit in a reserved armchair with a .303 or a .450 express rifle between his languid legs.

Shipping and tourist companies now advertise lion and elephant shoots as mildly exciting holidays in which even ladies may take part without any danger or fatigue. Indeed, so commonplace an event has the chase of the King of Beasts become, that

the heavy bore gun has largely given place to the cinema camera, and thrilling photos of formidable beasts are now thought worthier trophies of African "shikar" than a mass of skins and maned or horned heads to hang on the walls at home, or adorn the floors as rugs "with a history."

The natural result is a notable shrinkage in the magnificent fauna of Africa. Time was when the professional ivory hunter, F. C. Selous, could lay low 190 giant bull elephants in six weeks, and when a troop of fifty lions, hunting zebras and buffaloes together, was no uncommon sight to Dutch immigrant farmers journeying south of the Zambesi over the limitless veldt, with the usual ox wagons of less civilized days.

Already in Bechuanaland the elephant and rhinoceros are extinct. High plateaux of the Transvaal are now dreary, lifeless wastes, and the larger game tend to retreat in all directions before the creep and spread of African progress in this post-war day. Barely sixty-five years have elapsed since Speke and Grant discovered the spot where the infant Nile pours foaming out of the vast Victoria Nyanza lake. That was "Darkest Africa," indeed, haunted with lions and cannibal savages. Today the pampered tourist lands at Mombasa—the old centre of Arab slave-trade—from a palace liner, to find luxurious motors (with



Mrs. Martin Johnson, the explorer, with her automobile in Tanganyika

toilet and tea rooms!) awaiting him bound for the Mountains of the Moon or the mysterious peaks of Kilima Njaro, in whose 19,000-foot tropic snows legend has it that fabulous treasures of gold were hidden ages ago by the Abyssinians.

On the Uganda Railway are sleeping and restaurant cars; there will soon be another branch line to the Belgian Congo itself. And although even now one may shoot zebras and antelopes—even an occasional lion or giraffe—from the car windows, this is only a passing phase. Further and further afield each year must the hunter travel in quest of impressive trophies, which in any case are mainly the result of the mechanism and ballistics of a gun rather than physical prowess on the part of the sportsman.

Lords and ladies visit East Africa today to shoot great game on a honeymoon trip from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza; and what was once a four-month march of grave danger, is now only a pleasure trip of a day or two. Bankers, industrial leaders and business men of many nations take to African "safari" as a novel outing. "Conducted parties," with all the paraphernalia of tents, interpreters and guides now pass clear through the Dark Continent from Cape Town to Cairo, using comfortable steamers on the Great Lakes, and at Rejaf changing into Nile houseboats which have sumptuous suites of rooms, private baths, electric fans, a first-class cuisine and all the comforts

of a modern hotel, until Khartoum and Luxor are reached, and the Ritz or Carlton Palace again appear to show that the African tour is over. It is startling to learn that there is far more unexplored territory today in South America than is left in Africa or Central Asia.

THE PROFESSIONAL HUNTER

Africa is greatly tamed. No longer do all the tribes war upon one another—as did the fierce Masai upon the Wa-Kikuyu. The vanquished people were then left as outlaws and vagabonds, roaming at large—with a troop of lions prowling after them to seize and devour human prey every night. To shoot great game today one must take out a \$250 license. This allows the hunter to kill two elephants, one buffalo, two rhinos, two hippos, two zebras and about thirty antelopes of various kinds. But there is a good deal of poaching on or near the frontiers of the various Powers and their Protectorates. Professional hunters collect skins and heads for the natural history museums; they also secure elephant tusks, of which a good pair may be worth \$600. Then there are the trappers—both black and white—who catch wild beasts for the zoos and circuses of the world. No restriction is put upon lion slaying, since the King of Beasts is a terror to all, especially to the savage African villager, whose cattle are constantly destroyed and whose life is threatened by pounces in the night when

human beings are dragged off into the lonely bush. Warrior tribesmen like the Masai and Kavirondo think little of attacking such a marauder with their iron hoes, hoping he will drop his screaming victim. They even hunt the lion on foot with spears and shields, and engage in a terrible battle, which has actually been filmed by American expeditions, and recorded for the screen of men being mauled and torn by the King of Beasts at bay.

The lion may go four or five days without food. He then sets out after meat, and all Africa seems to recognize his right to it. He hunts in couples, in families or in troops up to a dozen or more, according to the quarry pursued. Easiest of all is the zebra, which roams the plains in herds of hundreds. The most difficult prey is the buffalo bull, himself a brute of vast strength and cunning, which will always hunt the human hunter until one or the other of them is killed.

When trailing buffaloes, the troop of lions use massed tactics. They run mute as foxhounds on the scent, and at last arrange their forces for attack. The strongest lions station themselves down-wind, while the rest assail the formidable herd and drive them toward the fatal ambush. In this case the kill is peculiar: a pounce on the left side, a dragging down of the great horned head with one taloned paw, while another grips the shaggy shoulder, and then the

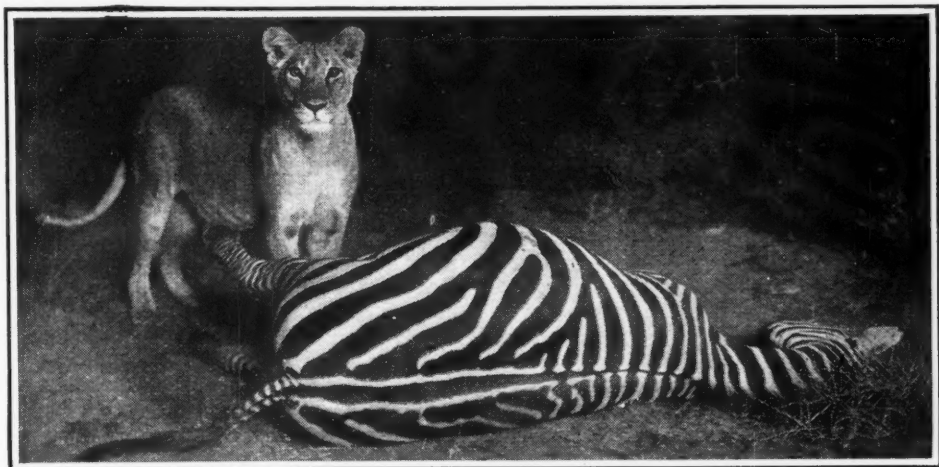
massive skull is pulled sideways to break the neck. Here, indeed, is epic vengeance of the wild, with savage growlings and belowings from both sides, sinking at last into moans of mortal agony and despair as the buffalo tumbles forward, head first.

Then quite likely the bigger lions stand aloof, while their half-grown cubs complete the kill and endeavor to carry out the skillful and systematic butchery which only these enormous cats practice. They never eat where they have killed; each carcass is dismembered and part of it hidden under grass or leaves for a second gorge.

The hapless giraffe is often the lion's prey. F. C. Selous, the greatest of all big game hunters, told me that the weirdest sight he ever beheld was that of a seventeen-foot bull giraffe galloping like mad in the moonlit dusk with a huge male lion on his back eating him alive.

LION'S METHOD OF HUNTING

In all ages, in all nations and literatures, from the Homeric poems to our own Bible, the lion is a symbol of majesty, power, and destructive ferocity when aroused. He is often eleven feet long, and may weigh 700 pounds. His maxillary fangs work like colossal shears; he has four auxiliary "mouths" in his sinewy feet in the form of razor-sharp claws; these are protected by velvety pads, and never touch the ground as these huge *felidae* hunt their prey. And



Flashlight picture of a lioness on a zebra kill taken in Africa at night by Martin Johnson

those claws have behind them a paw stroke of sledgehammer force. A lion can make off with a zebra as easily as a retriever with a hare.

LION'S HABITS

Strangely enough, in spite of all the hunters and natural history writers, we know but little of the lion's domestic life. He has never been known to fight for a mate in the troop—even where one lioness only accompanies half a score of males. No one can say why adult lions suddenly forsake their usual antelope or other meat, and take to human beings exclusively. When the Uganda Railway was being built a pair of maneaters appeared at Tsavo Station to inaugurate a reign of terror which eventually suspended all construction on that important line.

Every night native laborers were dragged off shrieking for aid, only to be devoured by these fierce monsters in the nearby bush. The climax came when white hunters were actually seized in the coach where they lay in wait for these lions with express rifles beside them, and were hauled through the car windows to the same appalling fate. At last the natives refused to work even at treble pay, and the British Government had to send a famous *shikari* in the person of Colonel Paterson, who eventually laid low the Uganda Railway's man-eating nightmare and enabled this great national project to proceed.

Every year this King of Beasts takes toll of the white man, despite his modern armory of weapons. As for his depredations among the African natives, these are everyday affairs. Among all wild beasts the lion ranks first as an "enemy" because of his daring and his savagery of attack, even when at the point of death. The African buffalo is a dangerous foe, often following the hunter by scent, as will the elephant and the rhinoceros. The buffalo is especially dangerous in the

charge, holding his huge head low and thus making a brain shot very difficult to bring off.

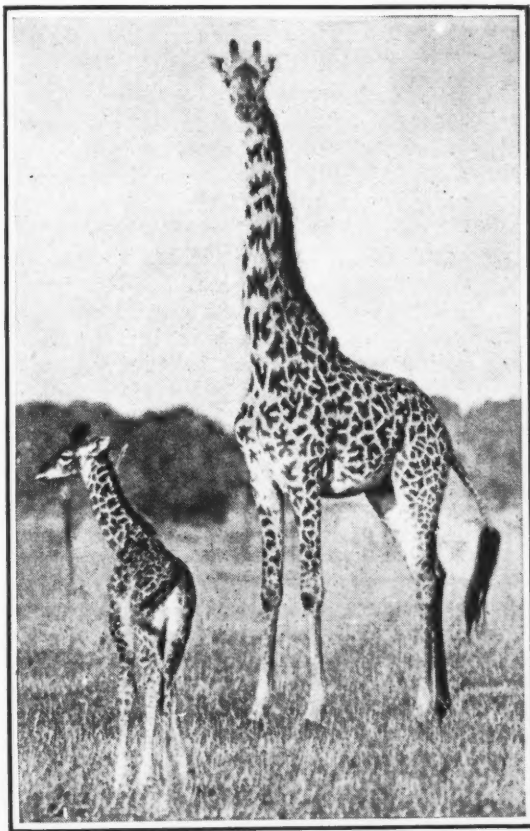
The leopard also is a terror in his final pounce; it comes with a thunderbolt swiftness and the target offered is small. But neither the buffalo bull nor the wounded leopard will enter camp in the dark and drag off men or animals as the lion commonly does. Nor are there any set rules for his attack. The lion, suddenly sighted by a white hunter, will give a growl and scuttle away—never with the majestic, maned head held high, as mistaken artists so often portray him, but with a supple slouch like that of a startled cat in the garden, with a wicked head below the level of the spine. A feeding lion, or a female with cubs may attack at once, fixing evil eyes on the human intruder, switching the black-tipped tail from side to side with ominous intent and lifting it at right angles to the back at the moment of the first leap.

The pace of a charging lion equals that of a fast horse, though the brute cannot keep it up for long. And nothing in all wild nature equals this onslaught for awe-



Times Wide World

Filming big game in Africa, with a gun-bearer at the photographer's side in case of trouble



Times Wide World

An unusual photograph of a female giraffe and her young one taken in Africa

some terror. The monster's progress is in great bounds of twenty or even thirty feet. The dense, tawny mane is bristling erect all round the vengeful face. The huge jaws are open, the eyes emit flame, and hoarse growls and roars precede the last jump, with all the fearsome claws unsheathed for terrible mauling and rending of flesh.

It was in such a manner as this that Mr. George Grey, the brother of Lord Grey of Fallodon, was assailed in East Africa, and not all the efforts of Sir Alfred Pease and his sons could save this hapless hunter from a frightful ordeal. Yet Mr. Grey, still alive, though horribly mauled by talons and fangs, could calmly instruct his friends how to handle his lacerated and bleeding body. It is a well known, though inexplicable fact, that the larger *felidae* inflict no physical pain upon their victims during the kill.

Every African authority, from David Livingstone to Frederick Selous, has confirmed this strange phenomenon.

As a rule, the adult lion will avoid man and prefers hunting big game to feeding on dead cattle and antelopes in those "tsetse fly" belts, which the African insect so often denudes of all animal population. Yet once a lion has taken to man-eating, he will accept no other prey. And, again, many adult lions do become carrion feeders, staring up at the sky to see where a flock of soaring vultures mark the spot where draft or domestic oxen or mules have fallen, or where big antelopes, like the eland, kudu or impala, have sickened and laid down to die. A notable case is recorded where a troop of lions followed an emigrant caravan in the "fly belt," devouring dead oxen and even disinterring the human corpses from shallow graves, afterward entering camp to sniff inquisitively at sick and helpless men in their cot-beds and then trot off without harming them at all!

As for the elephant, his existence can never accord with human settlement and agriculture, whatever may be said about his preservation on sentimental or natural history grounds. Even in Cape Colony itself a small herd of about 100 wild ele-

phants was for many years protected, even in the face of all the farmers' protests. Fences and sheds would be carried away, crops trampled and devoured by these prowling "steam rollers"—some of them old bull tuskers of six tons or more. Finally the South African Government had to yield to protests, and the herd was exterminated by both Dutch and British landowners, who had suffered much from the last elephant survivors in the far South.

LARGER ANIMALS DISAPPEARING

Both elephants and rhinos have long since disappeared from Bechuanaland, where a few hartebeests, blesboks and gemsboks are all that remain of the countless herds of antelopes that once swarmed the plains. The high veldt of the Transvaal is likewise a wilderness in regard to animal life; in

Mashonaland the black and square-mouthed rhinoceros still lingers precariously. But there is little great game to the south of the great Zambesi River.

East Africa was the last stronghold of all types, and now the new development of railroads and steamers which followed the creation of Kenya Colony is menacing even this huge animal preserve with total extinction in our own day.

Up to 150 pounds of fine ivory can be chopped from the head of a fallen elephant, so the inducement to slay these monsters is obvious enough. In out-of-the-way regions savage chiefs will hail the advent of a white hunter with his double-express rifles of .450 calibre. They guide him and his gun-bearers to the recent spoor of a browsing herd—no longer a thousand strong, as in Selous's day, but possibly numbering two hundred giants or more. A big tusker is picked out, and a brain-shot tried, for this will topple over the vast brute at once. If the first shot fails, there is trouble in store. Up goes the sensitive trunk with a vengeful scream to sense where the hunters lurk. Then come a headlong, racing charge. If a tree can be climbed by the hunted man, well and good; if not an awful tragedy may result, for an enraged elephant can travel as fast as any horse over a short distance.

On one fateful occasion, the famous ivory-hunter Selous fled for his life, and so did his two gun-bearers, flinging away their heavy weapons as they ran. But the furious monster caught one of these unlucky savages. Round his nude body curled the avenging trunk. High in the air the terrified man was swung, then hurled at a distant tree, as a boy might fling a stone. Every bone in the victim's body was broken. Yet the wounded elephant did not stop in his plunging course. Arrived at the tree, he flattened out his dead foe's body with a trampling leg that had tons of weight above it. Then the monster plucked off all four limbs, and looked around for his other two assailants.

DANGERS OF HUNTING

Elephant hunting is a pretty serious business. Apart from the terrible risks of a charge, it is a most exhausting thing to tramp many miles after the herd in fierce tropic heat, carrying a heavy rifle—floun-

dering through swamps, swimming across rivers full of crocodiles and hippos, braving sunstroke and the onslaught of poisonous insects whose bite may mean malaria, fever or even death itself.

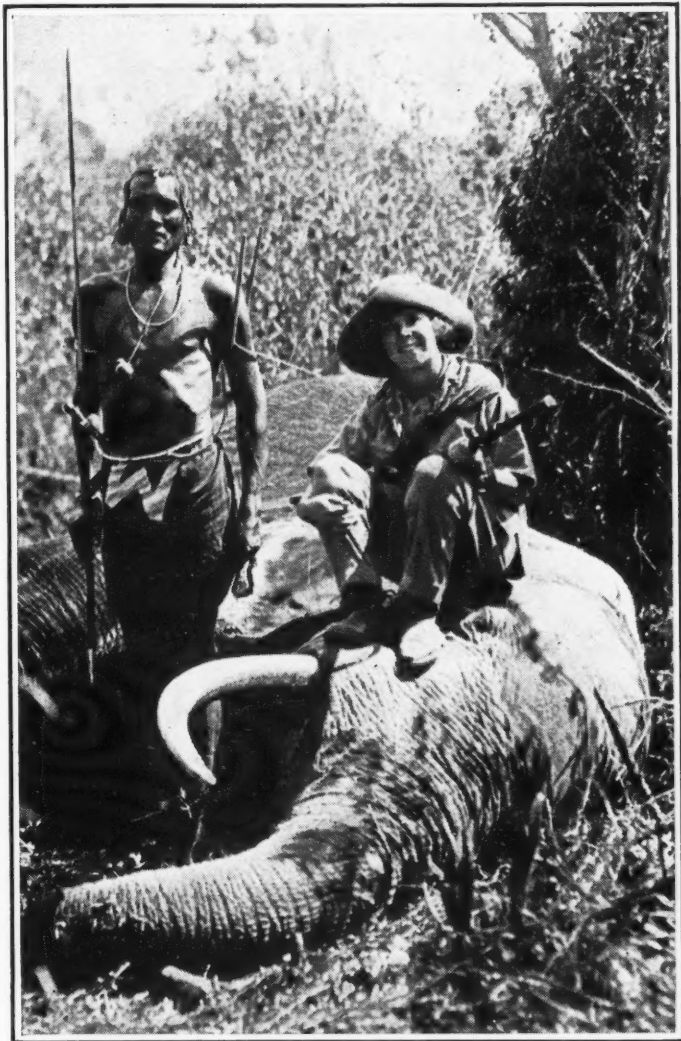
But a fallen elephant is a great prize, alike for the white hunter of ivory and his savage tribal guides. These last swarm over the colossal carcass like ants on a leaf. A hole is dug on the top side, and a naked warrior vanishes into the depths of it to pass up to expectant companions great slabs of the bleeding meat. This is eaten raw, and to such an extent that the feasters are at length rolling on the ground in agonies of repletion! But when will a white man again come this way to give them such a banquet of meat? The only part of an elephant which the white hunter will eat is the heart, roasted on twigs; this is considered a great African delicacy.

The tribes themselves can and do hunt the elephant, but this is a long and tedious affair. They hide in trees, armed with weighted harpoons and throwing-spears. The herd is then stampeded, and the huge, broad-bladed weapons hurled down between the shoulderblades of a chosen tusker. In such cases the wounded beast has to be followed for many days by bow-men and trackers, to be harried on the way and still further wounded unto death, so that at last he tumbles on his knees and is dispatched amid all confusion and shrill uproar.

Elephants live to a great age, and curiously enough retire to die in a spot known to the natives as "the elephants' cemetery." To light upon one of these is, of course, like discovering a gold mine, since "dead" ivory may be found lying here by the hundred-weight, and this valuable commodity is constantly rising in price owing to the shrinkage in supplies.

The great horned rhinoceros is a clumsy, stupid, uncertain beast. He also is disappearing, together with the huge and harmless giraffe—for which any national zoo of today must pay at least \$5,000. Hunting the black, the so-called "white," or the great square-mouthed rhino is perilous sport, for this ungainly brute has a marvelous sense of smell, and will often charge with deadly intent without being wounded at all.

To shoot giraffes, of course, entails no



Times Wide World

Mrs. Martin Johnson sitting on an elephant she shot during a hunting trip in Africa

more danger than to kill cows. This curious and beautiful creature—so difficult and delicate to breed in captivity—is now the scarcest of all Africa's greater game. That mysterious brother of the giraffe, the "okapi," may be said to be extinct. Its very existence was unknown until the late Sir Harry Johnston secured a complete skin from a native villager and sent it home to the British Museum of Natural History with a drawing of the animal done from description only. Later on, the first recorded

specimen of an okapi—a cross between a zebra and a giraffe — was found living as a pet in the household of a Belgian lady, the wife of a Government official on the Congo.

The London Zoo heard of this unique survival and made an offer of £1,000 for it. But its patriotic owner sent it instead to the Antwerp Zoo. Yet despite all care and coddling on the voyage from the Congo to Europe, this queer animal died at sea on the way.

In the very heart of Africa, persistent rumors run of yet other unknown creatures whose existence may or may not be a fact. Meanwhile, all the great known beasts are receding before the construction of railways and roads with white immigration and tourist traffic of which Stanley and Burton never dreamed. Uganda has been divided, and the highlands of Kenya Colony are marked out as coffee plantations, where soil and climate rival those of famous Sao Paulo in Brazil.

Not long ago a young English aristocrat—the Hon. Denys Finch Hatton—went out stalking lions from Nairobi with a Ford car and two one-ton trucks mounting a cinema camera on a bracket with a universal joint-fitting. In open bush on the Scrangnet Plains, Mr. Finch Hatton came upon zebra herds and the larger antelopes. Where these feed, the lion is not far away. In a few days no less than seventy of these magnificent brutes were seen, including lionesses and cubs.

One hunting troop numbered 20 lions, and when these pulled down a zebra, the rest of the striped herd, after a moment's panic, went on grazing and gamboling as if nothing tragic had occurred. Beside the photographer in the car sat a watchful *shikari* with a .450 rifle in case of "trouble." Four lions were presently seen herded on a big bare red ant heap, and the car actually advanced to within 30 yards of them. As the camera started with its whirl of gears, one lioness climbed down and strolled away. But the rest kept Mr. Finch Hatton close company for four hours; and when the lions moved the car followed them for another series of pictures! To such a prosy pitch has lion-stalking come in these ultra-civilized days.

Stranger still, it is now thought proper to reward these majestic camera "sitters" for their "kindness." So away sped the car to kill a large antelope and drag it back over the plains by a slipknot from the rear spring. This feast was loosed to the lions at 35 yards, and they duly took possession of it, while this very modern African hunter got ready more films for the savage feast. Closer and closer crept the car.

Now and then an evil blood-smeared face was lifted to survey it with a deep suspicious growl, as the six-inch lens did its recording work. Presently the lionesses, half-sated, retired to the grateful shade of a big umbrella thorn, leaving their huge black-maned lord and master to bring along the meat to them—which he did exactly as a cat trots across the room with an insignificant mouse!

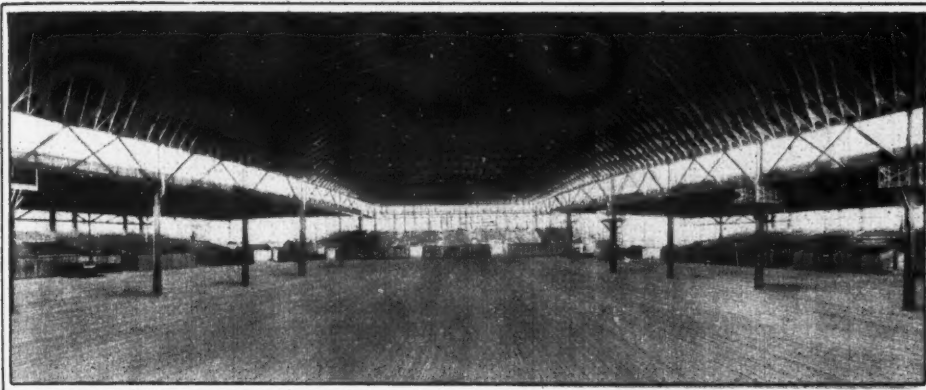
The photographer, of course, does no harm in this way; but the rich tourist in East Africa knows no peace until he can send home pictures of himself in cowboy kit with an enormous "bag" at his feet—elephants, rhinos, leopards, giraffes and so on. I know of one party of friends who left Mombasa with 30 lions, including half-grown cubs who follow the parents for instruction in the trailing and killing, and with the larger antelopes.

Unless this wanton orgy of slaughter can be stopped by drastic laws, the time is not far distant when the only place to see the great wild beasts of Africa will be the local zoo, or, stuffed, in the natural history museum, where we go to study the wonders of the animal kingdom.



Pictures in Rotogravure

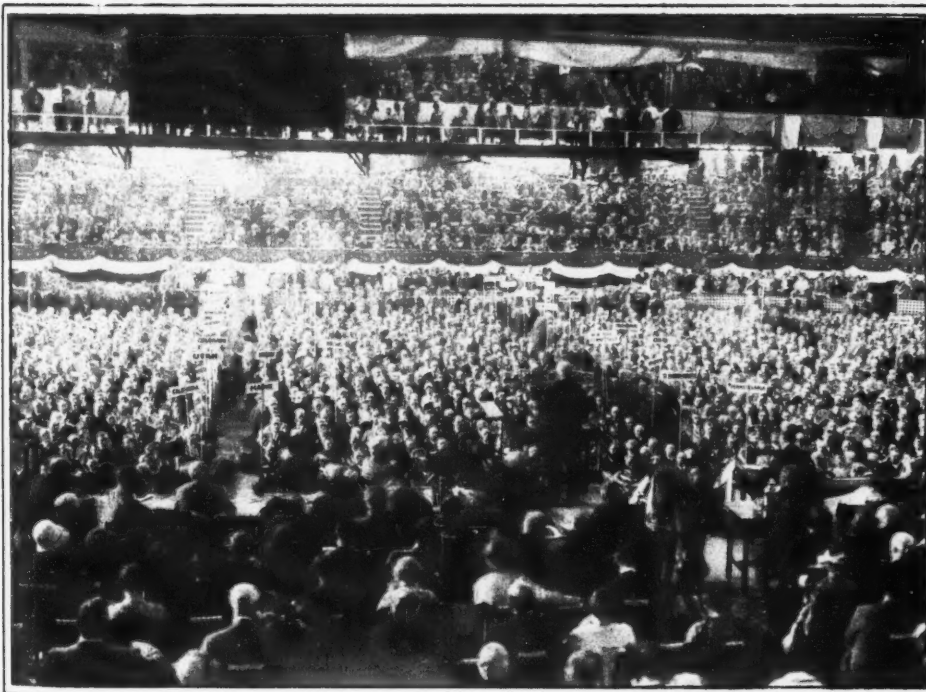
THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS



WHERE THE DEMOCRATS MET.

Interior of the New Hall at Houston, Texas, Specially Erected by Local Business Men at a Cost of \$200,000 for the Democratic Convention, Which Opened on June 26.

Times Wide World.



THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

View of the Opening Session at Kansas City on June 12.

Associated Press.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT



JOSEPH T. ROBINSON

United States Senator From Arkansas, Born at Lonoke, Ark., Aug. 26, 1872.
(Harris & Ewing.)

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



ALFRED E. SMITH
Governor of New York, born in New York City,
Dec. 30, 1873

Times Wide World.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT



CHARLES CURTIS,

United States Senator From Kansas, Born in Shawnee County, Kan., Jan. 25, 1860.

Harris & Ewing

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



HERBERT CLARK HOOVER,

United States Secretary of Commerce, Born at West Branch, Iowa, Aug. 10, 1874.

Harris & Ewing

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' WIVES



MRS. HERBERT HOOVER.
Underwood & Underwood



MRS. ALFRED E. SMITH.
© E. F. Foley

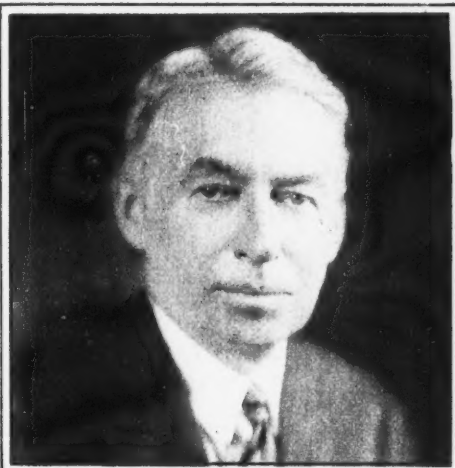


MRS. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON.
Times Wide World



MRS. EDWARD E. GANN,
Sister of Senator Curtis, for Whom
She Acts as Hostess.
Associated Press

PERSONALITIES AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION



CLEM SHAVER
The Retiring Chairman of the Demo-
cratic National Committee.
Harris & Ewing



CLAUDE G. BOWERS
Who Delivered the Keynote Speech
Harris & Ewing



KEY PITTMAN
United States Senator
from Nevada, Chairman
of the Resolutions Com-
mittee
Harris & Ewing



DAN MOODY
Governor of Texas and
One of the Leaders for a
Dry Plank in the Demo-
cratic Platform
Harris & Ewing



**FRANKLIN D.
ROOSEVELT**
Floor Manager for Gov-
ernor Smith, Whom He
Placed in Nomination for
Candidate for President
Times Wide World



**GEORGE R.
VAN NAMEE**

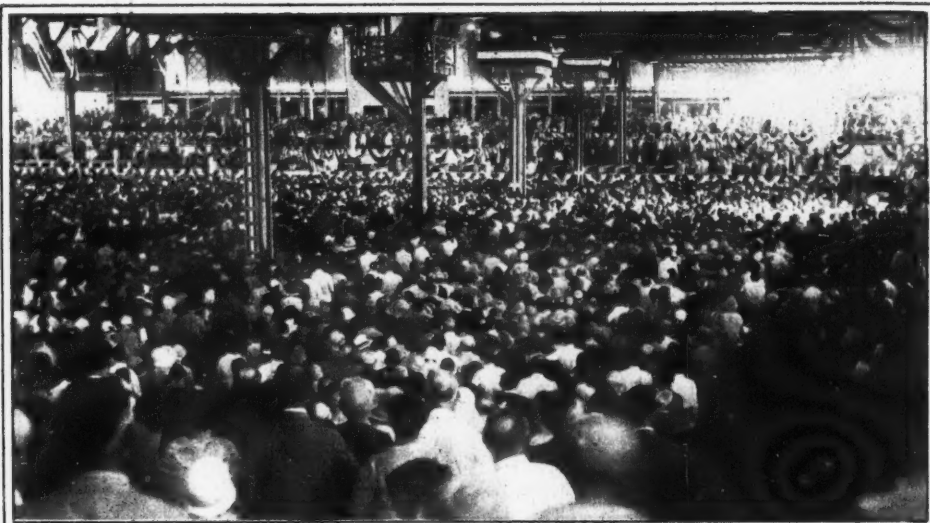
Governor
Smith's pre-
Convention
Campaign
Manager
Associated Press



**J. THOMAS
HEFLIN**
United States
Senator from
Alabama, One
of Governor
Smith's Most
Militant
Opponents
Harris & Ewing



AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION



THE CONVENTION
HALL AT HOUSTON
Scene During the
Dedication
Ceremony.

Times Wide World



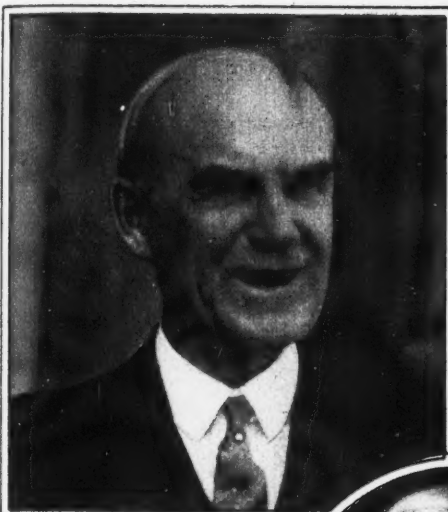
MRS. WOODROW WILSON

Arriving at Houston
as an Honored Guest
of the Convention,
and Escorted by
Jesse Jones, Who
was Responsible for
the Convention Be-
ing Held at Houston.

Times Wide World.

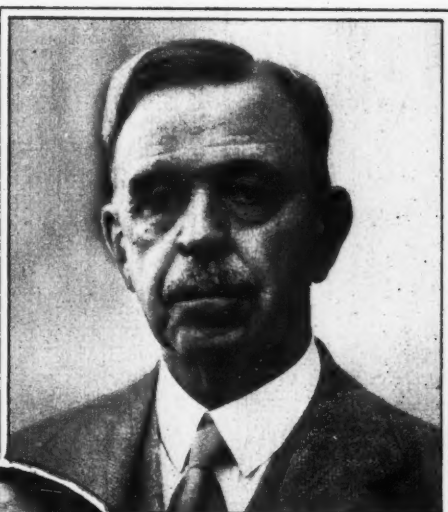


PROMINENT IN THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION



SIMEON D. FESS,
United States Senator
from Ohio, who De-
livered the Keynote
Speech for the Repub-
licans

Associated Press



HUBERT WORK
Secretary of the Inte-
rior, who has succeeded
William M. Butler as
Chairman of the Repub-
lican National Com-
mittee

Associated Press



**GEORGE H.
MOSES**

United States
Senator from
New Hamp-
shire and
Permanent
Chairman
of the
Republican
Convention

Bachrach



WILLIAM E. BORAH
United States Senator from
Idaho, a Leading Upholder of
Prohibition as a Policy of the
Republican Party

Associated Press



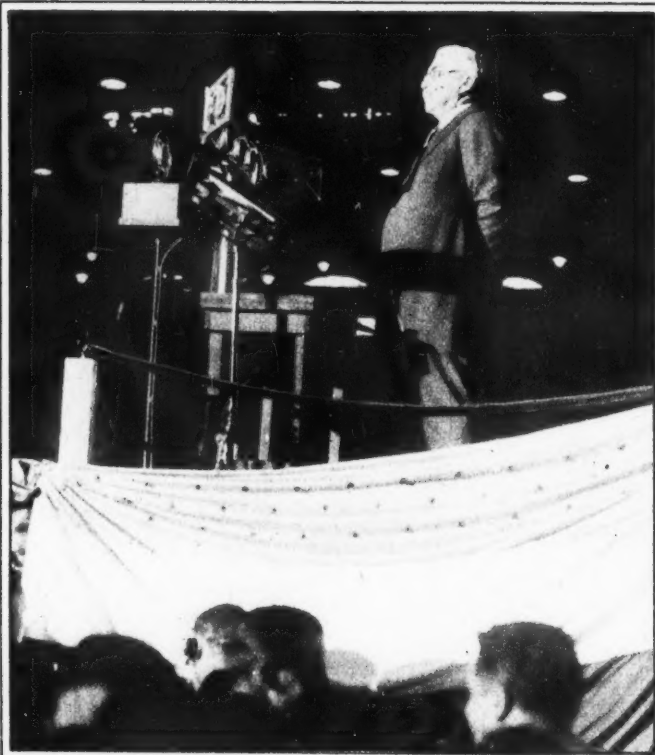
**ROBERT M.
LA FOLLETTE JR.**

United States Senator from
Wisconsin, a Leader of the
Progressive Wing in the Re-
publican Party

Times Wide World



KANSAS CITY CONVENTION SCENES



FARMERS IN PROTEST
Demonstration by Opponents of Secretary Hoover's attitude on Agricultural Relief.

Associated Press

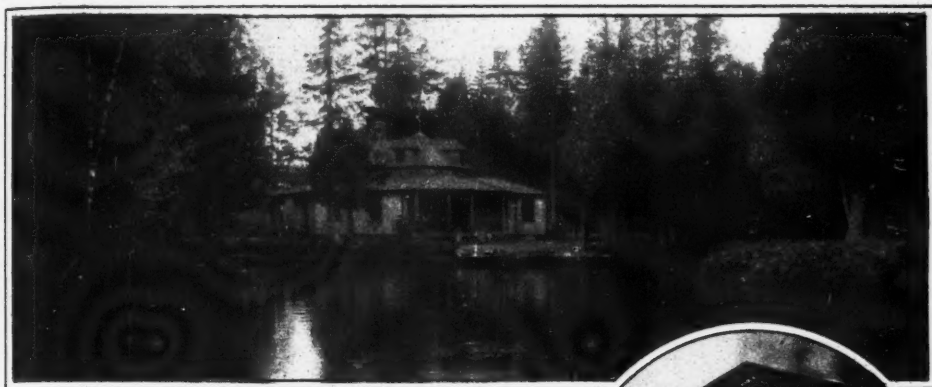


WILLIAM M. BUTLER

The former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, opening the Republican Convention.

← Associated Press

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S SUMMER VACATION



THE SUMMER WHITE HOUSE OF 1928.
Cedar Island Lodge on an Island in the Brule
River, Wisconsin.

Times Wide World

JOHN COOLIDGE,
The President's Son on His Graduation From
Amherst.

Associated Press



IN HOLIDAY MOOD.
The President With Mrs. Coolidge and Mrs. Lenroot (Wife of ex-Senator Lenroot)
Arriving in Wisconsin for the Summer Vacation.

Times Wide World

FIRST WOMAN TO FLY THE ATLANTIC



**THE FRIENDSHIP'S
PILOT AND MECHANIC**
Wilmer Stultz (at Left) and
Lou Gordon, the Airmen
Who Were Responsible for
Miss Earhart's Successful
Flight Across the Atlantic.

Times Wide World



AMELIA EARHART
Boston Settlement Worker
Who, With Wilmer Stultz,
Pilot, and Lou Gordon,
Mechanic, Alighted in the
Seaplane Friendship at
Burry Port, Carmarthen-
shire, South Wales, on
June 18, After a Flight of
20 Hours and 40 Minutes
From Trepassey,
Newfoundland.

← G. P. Putnam

THE DRAMA OF ARCTIC AVIATION

(See Account of Recent Aerial Events Elsewhere in This Magazine.)



CARRIER OF FOOD TO NOBILE

The Hydroplane
Used by Major
Maddalena When
He Dropped Provi-
sions From the Air
for Nobile and His
Stranded Crew.

Associated Press



**CAPTAIN RENE
GUILBAUD**

French Aviator
Who Accompanied
Amundsen and
Leif Dietrichsen on
Their Attempt to
Rescue Nobile.

Associated Press



ROALD AMUNDSEN

Famous Explorer Who at
This Writing Has Not Been
Heard From After Leaving on
a Flight to Rescue General
Nobile.

Times Wide World



**LIEUT. EINAR-
PAAL LUND-
BORG**

Swedish Aviator
Who Went to the
Rescue of Nobile.

P. & A. Photos



AIRMEN WHO HAVE EARNED FRESH LAURELS



THE TRANSPACIFIC FLIERS.

The Crew of the Southern Cross Who Made the Flight from the United States to Australia (left to right): Lieut. Commander Harry W. Lyon of the American Merchant Marine; Captain Charles Kingsford-Smith, Australian War Ace, and Commander of the Flight; Charles T. F. Ulm, Another Australian War Veteran, and James Warner, American Radio Operator.

Times Wide World



EMILIO CARRANZA, Mexican Aviator, Who Left Mexico City on June 11 on a Good-Will Flight to the United States, Arriving in Washington the Following Day.

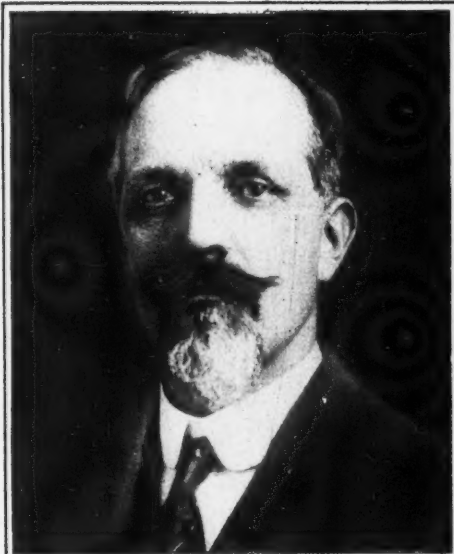
Associated Press

NOTABLE FIGURES IN EVENTS ABROAD



HERMANN MUELLER,
Summoned to Take Office as Chancellor
and Form a New German Cabinet After
the Recent Elections.

Times Wide World



STEFAN RADITCH,
Yugoslav Political Leader Who Was
Wounded During the Shooting Affray
in the Belgrade Parliament in Which
His Brother Was Killed.

Keystone



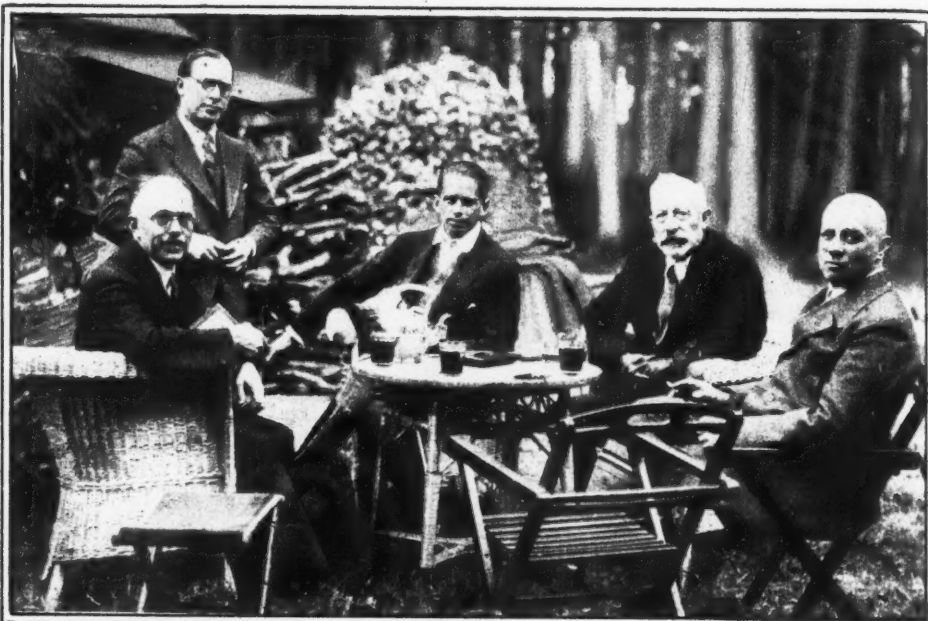
LORD KYLSANT,
British Shipowner, Whose Recent Ac-
quisition of the White Star Line Makes
Him the Head of the World's Largest
Shipping Combine.



MRS. EMMELINE PANKHURST,
The British Suffragette Leader, Who
Died on June 14.

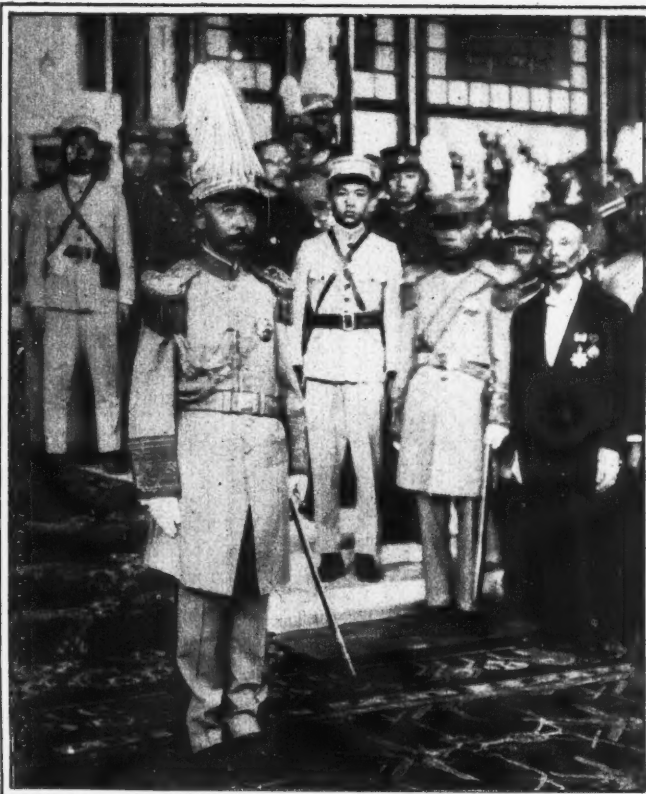
Harris & Ewing

WAR LORDS WHOSE DAY HAS GONE



THE EX-KAISER'S SIMPLE LIFE

Wilhelm II Taking Tea With Friends at Doorn, Holland. The Group Consists of (From Left to Right) Lieut. Col. W. Dommès, George Sylvester Viereck (Standing), Aide de Camp von Ilseemann, the ex-Kaiser, and Captain van Houton, Chief of the Dutch Guard of Honor. Underwood & Underwood.



THE WAR LORD OF MANCHURIA

Chang Tso-lin, Reports of Whose Death Have Been Current Since He Was Forced by the Chinese Nationalist Forces to Abandon Peking, as He Appeared When Photographed at the Presidential Palace in Peking on Establishing Himself as Dictator.

Times Wide World



The Republican Platform

Continued from Page 712

"The Republican Party has always given and will continue to give its support to the development of American foreign trade, which makes for domestic prosperity. During this Administration extraordinary strides have been made in opening up new markets for American produce and manufacture. Through these foreign contacts a mutually better international understanding has been reached which aids in the maintenance of world peace.

"The Republican Party promises a firm and consistent support of American persons and legitimate American interests in all parts of the world. This support will never contravene the rights of other nations. It will always have in mind and support in every way the progressive development of international law, since it is through the operation of just laws, as well as through the growth of friendly understanding, that world peace will be made permanent. To that end the Republican Party pledges itself to aid and assist in the perfection of principles of international law and the settlement of international disputes."

AGRICULTURE—"The agricultural problem is national in scope and, as such, is recognized by the Republican Party, which pledges its strength and energy to the solution of the same. Realizing that many farmers are facing problems more difficult than those which are the portion of many other basic industries, the party is anxious to aid in every way possible. Many of our farmers are still going through readjustments, a relic of the years directly following the great war. All the farmers are being called on to meet new and perplexing conditions created by foreign competition, the complexities of domestic marketing, labor problems and a steady increase in local and State taxes.

"The general depression in a great basic industry inevitably reacts upon the conditions in the country as a whole and cannot be ignored. It is a matter of satisfaction that the desire to help in the correction of agricultural wrongs and conditions is not confined to any one section of our country or any particular group.

"The Republican Party and the Republican Administration, particularly during the last five years, have settled many of the most distressing problems as they have arisen, and the achievements in aid of agriculture are properly a part of this record. The Republican Congresses have been most responsive in the matter of agricultural appropriations, not only to meet crop emergencies, but for the extension and development of the activities of the Department of Agriculture.

"The protection of the American farmer against foreign farm competition and foreign trade practices has been vigorously carried on by the Department of State. The right of the farmers to engage in collective buying and cooperative selling, as provided for by the Capper-Volstead act of 1922, has been promulgated through the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Justice, which have given most valuable aid

and assistance to the heads of the farm organizations.

"The Treasury Department and the proper committees of Congress have lightened the tax burden on farming communities; and through the Federal Farm Loan system there has been made available to the farmers of the nation \$1,850,000,000 for loaning purposes at a low rate of interest, and through the Intermediate Credit Banks \$655,000,000 of short-term credits have been made available to the farmers. The Postoffice Department has systematically and generously extended the rural free delivery routes into even the most sparsely settled communities.

"When a shortage of transportation facilities threatened to deprive the farmers of their opportunity to reach waiting markets overseas, the President, appreciative and sensitive of the condition and the possible loss to the communities, ordered the reconditioning of Shipping Board vessels, thus relieving a great emergency.

"Last, but not least, the Federal Tariff Commission has at all times shown a willingness under the provisions of the Flexible Tariff act to aid the farmers when foreign competition, made possible by low wage scales abroad, threatened to deprive our farmers of their domestic markets. Under this act the President has increased duties on wheat, flour, mill feed and dairy products. Numerous other farm products are now being investigated by the Tariff Commission.

"We promise every assistance in the reorganization of the marketing system on sounder and more economical lines and, where diversification is needed, Government financial assistance during the period of transition.

"The Republican Party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation creating a Federal Farm Board clothed with the necessary powers to promote the establishment of a farm marketing system, of farmer owned and controlled stabilization corporations or associations to prevent and control surpluses through orderly distribution.

"We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products as are affected by foreign competition.

"We favor, without putting the Government into business, the establishment of a Federal system of organization for cooperative and orderly marketing of farm products.

"The vigorous efforts of this Administration toward broadening our exports market will be continued.

"The Republican Party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality."

LABOR—"The labor record of the Republican Party stands unchallenged. For fifty-two of the last seventy-two years of our national existence Republican Administrations have prevailed. Today American labor enjoys the highest wage and the highest standard of living throughout the world. Through the saneness and soundness of Republican rule the American workman is paid a 'real wage' which allows comfort for himself and his dependants and an opportunity and leisure for advancement. It is not sur-

prising that the foreign workman, whose greatest ambition still is to achieve a 'living wage,' should look with longing toward America as the goal of his desires.

"The ability to pay such wages and maintain such a standard comes from the wisdom of the protective legislation which the Republican Party has placed upon the national statute books, the tariff which bars cheap foreign-made goods from the American market and provides continuity of employment for our workmen and fair profits for the manufacturers and the restriction of immigration, which not only prevents the glutting of our labor market but allows to our newer immigrants a greater opportunity to secure a footing in their upward struggle.

"The party favors freedom in wage contracts, the right of collective bargaining by free and responsible agents of their own choosing, which develops and maintains that purposeful cooperation which gains its chief incentive through voluntary agreement. We believe that injunctions in labor disputes have in some instances been abused and have given rise to a serious question for legislation. The Republican Party pledges itself to continue its efforts to maintain this present standard of living and high wage scale."

CONSERVATION—"We believe in the practical application of the conservation principle by the wide development of our national resources. The measure of development is our national requirement, and avoidance of waste so that future generations may share in this natural wealth. The Republican policy is to prevent monopolies in the control and utilization of natural resources. Under the General Leasing law, enacted by a Republican Congress, the ownership of the mineral estate remains in the Government, but development occurs through private capital and energy. Important for the operation of this law is the classification and appraisal of public lands according to their mineral content and value. Over 500,000,000 acres of public land have been thus classified.

"To prevent wasteful exploitation of our oil products, President Coolidge appointed an Oil Conservation Board, which is now conducting an inquiry into all phases of petroleum production, in the effort to devise a national policy for the conservation and proper utilization of our oil resources.

"The Republican Party has been forehanded in assuring the development of water power in accordance with public interest. A policy of permanent public retention of the power sites on public land and power privileges in domestic and international navigable streams, and one-third of the potential water power resources in the United States on public domain, has been assured by the Federal Water Powers act, passed by a Republican Congress."

LAW ENFORCEMENT—"We reaffirm the American constitutional doctrine as announced by George Washington in his 'Farewell Address,' to wit: 'The Constitution which at any time exists until changed by the explicit and authentic act by the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all.'

"We also reaffirm the attitude of the American people toward the Federal Constitution as declared by Abraham Lincoln: 'We are by both duty and inclination bound

to stick by that Constitution in all its letter and spirit from beginning to end. I am for the honest enforcement of the Constitution. Our safety, our liberty, depends upon preserving the Constitution of the United States, as our forefathers made it, inviolate.'

"The people through the method provided by the Constitution have written the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. The Republican Party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and vigorous enforcement of this provision of the Constitution."

NATURALIZATION—"The priceless heritage of American citizenship is our greatest gift to our friends of foreign birth. Only those who will be loyal to our institutions, who are here in conformity with our laws and who are in sympathy with our national traditions, ideals and principles, should be naturalized."

NAVY—"We pledge ourselves to round out and maintain the navy in all types of combatant ships to the full ratio provided for the United States by the Washington Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armament and any amendment thereto."

NATIONAL DEFENSE—"We believe that in time of war the nation should draft for its defense not only its citizens, but also every resource which may contribute to success. The country demands that, should the United States ever again be called upon to defend itself by arms, the President be empowered to draft such material resources and such services and essential commodities, whether utilized in actual warfare or private activity."

MINING—The platform recommends "that the Government should make every effort to aid the mining industry by protection by removing any restrictions that may be hampering its development," and a declared willingness to assist in a feasible plan for the stabilization of the coal industry.

HIGHWAYS—Support is pledged to continue appropriations for Government aid in highway construction.

MERCHANT MARINE—The platform endorses the White-Jones bill which encourages the building in American yards of new and modern ships which will carry the American flag. In opposition to Government ownership or operation, the platform favors the sale of Government vessels to private owners and the maintenance of the necessary lines under Government control until the sales can be made.

MISSISSIPPI FLOOD RELIEF AND CONTROL—The "energetic action" with which the Republican Administration met the flood emergency is endorsed, and the relief work of Secretaries Hoover and Dwight Davis commended.

WATERWAYS—Endorsement is given to continued development "in inland and intra-coastal waterways as an essential part of our transportation system."

VETERANS—Attention is called to the fact that the annual expenditures for the benefit of war veterans aggregate \$750,000,000. "Full and adequate relief for our disabled veterans is our aim, and we commend the action of Congress in further liberalizing the laws applicable to veterans' relief."

PUBLIC UTILITIES—"The party favors

and has sustained State regulation, believing that such responsibility in the end will create a force of State public opinion which will be more effective in preventing discrimination and injustices."

HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT—"We stand for honesty in Government, for the appointment of officials whose integrity cannot be questioned. We deplore the fact that any official has ever fallen from this high standard and that certain American citizens of both parties have so far forgotten their duty as citizens as to traffic in national interests for private gain. We have prosecuted and shall always prosecute any official who subordinates his public duty to his personal interest."

"The Government today is made up of thousands of conscientious, earnest, self-sacrificing men and women, whose single thought is service to the nation."

"We pledge ourselves to maintain and, if possible, to improve the quality of this great company of Federal employees."

CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES—"The improper use of money in governmental and political affairs is a great national evil. One of the most effective remedies for this abuse is publicity in all matters touching campaign contributions and expenditures. The Republican Party, beginning not later than Aug. 1, 1928, and every thirty days thereafter, the last publication being not later than five days before the election, will file with the committees of the House and Senate a complete account of all contributions, the names of the contributors, the amount expended, and for what purposes, and will at all times hold its records and books touching such matters open for inspection."

"The party further pledges that it will not create, or permit to be created, any deficit which shall exist at the close of the campaign."

RECLAMATION—"Federal reclamation of arid lands is a Republican policy, adopted under President Roosevelt, carried forward by succeeding Republican Presidents and put upon a still higher plane of efficiency and production by President Coolidge. It has increased the wealth of the nation and made the West more prosperous."

"An intensive study of the methods and practices of reclamation has been going on for the past four years under the direction of the Department of the Interior in an endeavor to create broader human opportunities and their financial and economic success. The money value of the crops raised on reclamation projects is showing a steady and gratifying increase, as well as the number of farms and people who have settled on the lands."

"The continuation of a surplus of agricultural products in the selling markets of the world has influenced the department to a revaluation of plans and projects. It has adopted a ten-year program for the completion of older projects and will hold other suggestions in abeyance until the surveys now under way as to the entire scope of the work are completed."

IMMIGRATION—"The Republican Party believes that, in the interest of both native and foreign born wage earners, it is necessary to restrict immigration. Unrestricted immigration would result in widespread unemployment and in the breakdown of the

American standard of living. Where, however, the law works undue hardship by depriving the immigrant of the comfort and society of those bound by close family ties, such modification should be adopted as will afford relief."

"We commend Congress for correcting defects for humanitarian reasons and for providing an effective system of examining prospective immigrants in their home countries."

WOMEN AND PUBLIC SERVICE—"Four years ago at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland women members of the National Committee were welcomed into full association and responsibility in party management. * * *

"The Republican Party, which from the first has sought to bring this development about, accepts wholeheartedly equality on the part of women, and in the public service it can present a record of appointments of women in the legal, diplomatic, judicial, Treasury and other governmental departments. We earnestly urge on the women that they participate even more generally than now in party management and activity."

OUR INDIAN CITIZENS—"The party favors the creation of a commission to investigate the existing system of the administration of Indian affairs and favors the repeal of any law that may be inconsistent with Indian citizenship."

THE NEGRO—"The platform favors the enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law."

HOME RULE—"We believe in the essential unity of the American people. Sectionalism in any form is destructive of national life. The Federal Government should zealously protect the national and international rights of its citizens. It should be equally zealous to respect and maintain the rights of the States and to uphold the vigor and balance of our dual system of Government. The Republican Party has always given its energies to supporting the Government in this direction when any question has arisen."

"There are certain other well-defined Federal obligations, such as interstate commerce, the development of rivers and harbors, and the guarding and conservation of national resources. The effort which, however, is being continually made to have the Federal Government move into the field of State activities has never had and never will have the support of the Republican Party. In the majority of the cases State citizens and officers are most pressing in their desire to have the Federal Government take over these State functions. This is to be deplored, for it weakens the sense of initiative and creates a feeling of dependence which is unhealthy and unfortunate for the whole body politic."

"There is a real need in the country today to revitalize fundamental principles; there is a real need of restoring the individual and local sense of responsibility and self-reliance; there is a real need for the people once more to grasp the fundamental fact that under our system of government they are expected to solve many problems themselves through their municipal and State Governments, and to combat the tendency that is all too common to turn to the Federal Government as the easiest and least burdensome method of lightening their own responsibilities."

The Democratic Platform

AFTER a tribute of love and respect to the memory of former President Woodrow Wilson, and a reaffirmation of devotion "to the principles of democratic government formulated by Jefferson," the platform goes on to declare the stand of the Democratic Party on the following issues:

THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES—The Party demands "that the rights and powers of the States shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue," and opposes "bureaucracy and the multiplication of offices and office holders."

REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION—The Republican record is cited as one of "industry depressed, agriculture prostrate, American shipping destroyed, workmen without employment," and the Republican Administration characterized as a "spectacle of sordid corruption and unabashed rascality."

ECONOMY AND REORGANIZATION—Reorganization and the substitution of modern business methods in Government departments is urged, and the Republican claim of economy is refuted as taking no account of the elimination of expenditures following the end of the World War.

FINANCE AND TAXATION—The Platform contends that Republican tax reduction has been grudging and insufficient, tending to discriminate against the masses in favor of privileged classes, and advocates a resumption of the sinking fund inaugurated by the last Democratic Administration, and a strict limitation of taxation within the requirements of this fund.

TARIFF—"The Democratic tariff legislation will be based on the following policies:

"(a) The maintenance of legitimate business, and a high standard of wages for American labor.

"(b) Increasing the purchasing power of wages and income by the reduction of those monopolistic and extortionate tariff rates bestowed in payment of political debts.

"(c) Abolition of log-rolling and restoration of the Wilson conception of a fact-finding tariff commission, quasi-judicial, and free from the Executive domination which has destroyed the usefulness of the present commission.

"(d) Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue for the support of government. Actual difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with adequate safeguard for the wage of the American laborer, must be the extreme measure of every tariff rate.

"(e) Safeguarding the public against monopoly created by special tariff favors.

"(f) Equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the tariff among all.

"Wage earner, farmer, stockman, producer and legitimate business in general have everything to gain from a Democratic tariff based on justice to all."

CIVIL SERVICE—The merit system, as extended by Grover Cleveland, is termed a tenet of Democratic political faith.

AGRICULTURE—"Deception upon the farmer and stock raiser has been practiced

by the Republican Party through false and delusive promises for more than fifty years. Specially favored industries have been artificially aided by Republican legislation. Comparatively little has been done for agriculture and stock raising, upon which national prosperity rests. Unsympathetic inaction with regard to this problem must cease. Virulent hostility of the Republican Administration to the advocates of farm relief and denial of the rights of farm organizations to lead in the development of farm policy must yield to Democratic sympathy and friendliness.

"Four years ago, the Republican Party, forced to acknowledge the critical situation, pledged itself to take all steps necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture and other industries and labor. Today it faces the country not only with that pledge unredeemed but broken by the acts of a Republican President who is primarily responsible for the failure to offer a constructive program to restore equality to agriculture.

"While he had no constructive and adequate program to offer in its stead, he has twice vetoed farm relief legislation and has sought to justify his disapproval of agricultural legislation, partly on grounds wholly inconsistent with his acts making industrial monopolies the beneficiaries of Government favor; and in endorsing the agricultural policy of the present Administration the Republican Party, in its recent convention, served notice upon the farmer that the so-called protective system is not meant for him; that while it offers protection to the privileged few, it promises continued world prices to the producers of the chief cash crops of agriculture.

"We condemn the policy of the Republican Party which promises relief to agriculture only through a reduction of American farm production to the needs of the domestic market. Such a program means the continued deflation of agriculture, the forcing of additional millions from the farms and the perpetuation of agricultural distress for years to come, with continued bad effects on business and labor throughout the United States.

"The Democratic Party recognizes that the problems of production differ as between agriculture and industry. Industrial production is largely under human control, while agricultural production, because of lack of coordination among the 6,500,000 individual farm units, and because of the influence of weather, pests and other causes, is largely beyond human control. The result is that a large crop frequently is produced on a small acreage and a small crop on a large acreage, and measured in money value it frequently happens that a large crop brings less than a small crop.

"Producers of crops whose total volume exceeds the needs of the domestic market must continue at a disadvantage until the Government shall intervene as seriously and as effectively in behalf of the farmer as it has intervened in behalf of labor and industry. There is a need of supplemental legislation for the control and orderly handling of agricultural surpluses, in order

that the price of the surplus may not determine the price of the whole crop. Labor has benefited by collective bargaining and some industries by tariff. Agriculture must be as effectively aided.

"The Democratic Party in its 1924 platform pledged its support to such legislation. It now reaffirms that stand and pledges the united efforts of the legislative and executive branches of Government, as far as may be controlled by the party, to the immediate enactment of such legislation, and to such other steps as are necessary to place and maintain the purchasing power of farm products and the complete economic equality of agriculture.

"The Democratic Party has always stood against special privilege and for common equality under the law. It is a fundamental principle of the party that such tariffs as are levied must not discriminate against any industry, class or section. Therefore we pledge that in its tariff policy the Democratic Party will insist upon equality of treatment between agriculture and other industries.

"Farm relief must rest on the basis of an economic equality of agriculture with other industries. To give this equality a remedy must be found which will include among other things:

"(a) Credit aid by loans to cooperatives on at least as favorable a basis as the Government aid to the merchant marine.

"(b) Creation of a Federal Farm Board to assist the farmer and stock raiser in the marketing of their products, as the Federal Reserve Board has done for the banker and business man. When our archaic banking and currency system was revised after its record of disaster and panic under Republican Administrations, it was a Democratic Congress in the Administration of a Democratic President that accomplished its stabilization through the Federal Reserve act creating the Federal Reserve Board with powers adequate to its purpose. Now in the hour of agriculture's need the Democratic Party pledges the establishment of a new agricultural policy fitted to present conditions, under the direction of a farm board vested with all the powers necessary to accomplish for agriculture what the Federal Reserve Board has been able to accomplish for finance, in full recognition of the fact that the banks of the country, through voluntary cooperation, were never able to stabilize the financial system of the country until Government powers were invoked to help them.

"(c) Reduction through proper Government agencies of the spread between what the farmer and stock raiser gets and the ultimate consumer pays, with consequent benefits to both.

"(d) Consideration of the condition of agriculture in the formulation of Government financial and tax measures.

"We pledge the party to foster and develop cooperative marketing associations through appropriate Government aid.

"We recognize that experience has demonstrated that members of such associations alone cannot successfully assume the full responsibility for a program that benefits all producers alike. We pledge the party to an earnest endeavor to solve this problem of the distribution of the cost of dealing with crop surpluses over the marketed units of

the crop whose producers are benefited by such assistance. The solution of this problem would avoid Government subsidy, to which the Democratic Party has always been opposed. The solution of this problem will be a prime and immediate concern of a Democratic Administration.

"We direct attention to the fact that it was a Democratic Congress in the Administration of a Democratic President which established the Federal Loan System and laid the foundation for the entire rural credits structure, which has aided agriculture to sustain, in part, the shock of the policies of two Republican Administrations; and we promise a thorough-going administration of our rural credits laws, so that the farmers in all sections may secure the maximum benefits intended under these acts."

FOREIGN POLICY—"The Republican Administration has no foreign policy; it has drifted without plan. This great nation cannot afford to play a minor rôle in world politics. It must have a sound and positive foreign policy, not a negative one. We declare for a constructive foreign policy based on these principles:

"(a) Outlawry of war and an abhorrence of militarism, conquest and imperialism.

"(b) Freedom from entangling political alliances with foreign nations.

"(c) Protection of American lives and rights.

"(d) Non-interference with the elections or other internal political affairs of any foreign nation. This principle of non-interference extends to Mexico, Nicaragua and all other Latin-American nations. Interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin-American countries must cease.

"(e) Rescue of our country from its present impaired world standing and restoration to its former position as a leader in the movement for international arbitration, conciliation, conference and limitation of armament by international agreement.

"(f) International agreements for reduction of all armaments and the end of competitive war preparations, and, in the meantime, the maintenance of an army and navy adequate for national defense.

"(g) Full, free and open cooperation with all other nations for the promotion of peace and justice throughout the world.

"(h) In our foreign relations, this country should stand as a unit, and, to be successful, foreign policies must have the approval and the support of the American people.

"(i) Abolition of the practice of the President of entering into and carrying out agreements with a foreign Government, either de facto or de jure, for the protection of such Government against revolution or foreign attack, or for the supervision of its internal affairs, when such agreements have not been advised and consented to by the Senate as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and we condemn the Administration for carrying out such an unratified agreement that requires us to use our armed forces in Nicaragua.

"(j) Recognition that the Monroe Doctrine is a cardinal principle of this Government promulgated for the protection of ourselves and our Latin-American neighbors. We shall seek their friendly cooperation in the maintenance of this doctrine.

"(k) We condemn the Republican Admin-

istration for lack of statesmanship and efficiency in negotiating the 1921 treaty for the limitation of armaments, which limited only the construction of battleships and ships of over 10,000 tons. Merely a gesture toward peace, it accomplished no limitation of armament, because it simply resulted in the destruction of our battleships and the blueprints of battleships of other nations; it placed no limitation upon construction of aircraft, submarines, cruisers, warships under 10,000 tons, poisonous gases or other weapons of destruction. No agreement was ratified with regard to submarines and poisonous gases. The attempt of the President to remedy the failure of 1921 by the Geneva Conference of 1928 was characterized by the same lack of statesmanship and efficiency and resulted in entire failure.

"In consequence, the race between nations in the building of unlimited weapons of destruction still goes on and the peoples of the world are still threatened with war and burdened with taxation for additional armament."

LABOR—"(a) We favor the principle of collective bargaining and the democratic principle that organized labor should choose its own representatives without coercion or interference.

"(b) Labor is not a commodity. Human rights must be safeguarded. Labor should be exempt from the operation of anti-trust laws.

"(c) We recognize that legislative and other investigations have shown the existence of grave abuse in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

"Injunctions should not be granted in labor disputes except upon proof of threatened irreparable injury, and after notice and hearing; and the injunction should be confined to those which do directly threaten irreparable injury.

"The expressed purpose of representatives of capital, labor and the bar to devise a plan for the elimination of the present evils with respect to injunctions must be supported and legislation designed to accomplish these ends formulated and passed.

"(d) We favor legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one State to another shall be subject to laws of the latter State as though they had been produced therein."

UNEMPLOYMENT—"Unemployment is present, widespread and increasing. Unemployment is almost as destructive to the happiness, comfort and well-being of human beings as war. We expend vast sums of money to protect our people against the evils of war, but no Government program is anticipated to prevent the awful suffering and economic losses of unemployment. It threatens the well-being of millions of our people and endangers the prosperity of the nation.

"We favor the adoption by the Government, after a study of this subject, of a scientific plan whereby during periods of unemployment appropriations shall be made available for the construction of necessary public works and the lessening, as far as consistent with public interests, of Government construction work when labor is generally and satisfactorily employed in private enterprise.

"Study should also be made of modern

methods of industry and a constructive solution found to absorb and utilize the surplus human labor released by the increasing use of machinery."

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION REFORM—"We favor legislation to prevent defeated members of both Houses of Congress from participating in the sessions of Congress by giving the date for convening the Congress immediately after the biennial national election."

LAW ENFORCEMENT—"The Republican Party, for eight years in complete control of the Government at Washington, presents the remarkable spectacle of feeling compelled, in its national platform, to promise obedience to a provision of the Federal Constitution which it has flagrantly disregarded and to apologize to the country for its failure to enforce laws enacted by the Congress of the United States. Speaking for the national Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

MERCHANT MARINE—"We reaffirm our support of an efficient, dependable American merchant marine for the carriage of the greater portion of our commerce and for the national defense.

"The Democratic Party has consistently and vigorously supported the shipping services maintained by the regional United States Shipping Board in the interest of all ports and all sections of our country, and has successfully opposed the discontinuance of any of these lines. We favor the transfer of these lines gradually to the local private American companies when such companies can show their ability to take over and permanently maintain the lines. Lines that cannot now be transferred to private enterprise should continue to be operated as at present, and should be kept in an efficient state by remodeling of some vessels and replacement of others.

"We are unalterably opposed to a monopoly in American shipping and are opposed to the operation of any of our service in a manner that would retard the development of any ports or sections of our country.

"We oppose such sacrifices and favoritism as exhibited in the past in the matter of alleged sales, and insist that the primary purpose of the legislation upon this subject be the establishment and maintenance of an adequate American merchant marine."

CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES—The Democratic Party condemns the improper and excessive use of money in elections and agrees to maintain a permanent and open record of all campaign expenditures.

WATER POWER, WATERWAYS AND FLOOD CONTROL—A balance of State and Federal control is advocated, navigation improvements are promised and the Flood Control act of last May is heartily endorsed.

COAL—Constructive legislation to remedy the demoralization of the coal industry and to allow capital and labor a fair share of prosperity, with adequate protection to the consuming public, is promised.

MINING—It is the duty of the Government to foster this industry.

CONSERVATION AND RECLAMATION—A program of reclamation, drainage and reforestation is promised.

TRANSPORTATION—Equal opportunity for competition among common carriers is approved, together with greater efficiency in all forms of transportation.

IMMIGRATION—"Laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, but the provisions contained in these laws that separate husbands from wives and parents from infant children are inhuman and not essential to the purpose or the efficacy of such laws."

MONOPOLIES AND ANTI-TRUST LAWS—"During the last seven years, under Republican rule, the anti-trust laws have been thwarted, ignored and violated so that the country is rapidly becoming controlled by trusts and sinister monopolies formed for the purpose of wringing from the necessities of life an unrighteous profit. These combinations are often formed and conducted in violation of law, encouraged, aided and abetted in their activities by the Republican Administration, and are driving all small tradespeople and small industrialists out of business. Competition is one of the most sacred, cherished and economic rights of the American people. We demand the strict enforcement of the anti-trust laws and the enactment of other laws, if necessary, to control this great menace to trade and commerce, and thus to preserve the right of the small merchant and manufacturer to earn a legitimate profit from his business."

"Dishonest business should be treated without influence at the National Capitol. Honest business, no matter its size, need have no fears of a Democratic Administration. The Democratic Party will ever oppose illegitimate and dishonest business. It will foster, promote and encourage all legitimate business enterprises."

EDUCATION—"We believe with Jefferson and other founders of the Republic that ignorance is the enemy of freedom and that each State, being responsible for the intel-

lectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education."

"The Federal Government should offer to the States such counsel, advice, results of research and aid as may be made available through the Federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs."

PHILIPPINES—"The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by the Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet."

PORTO RICO—"We favor granting to Porto Rico such territorial form of government as would meet the present economic conditions of the island and provide for the aspirations of her people, with the view to ultimate Statehood accorded to all Territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe any officials appointed to administer the government of such Territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein."

CANAL ZONE—Employment of American citizens in the operation of the Canal is favored.

VETERANS—America's unequalled record of care of veterans is cited as a Democratic achievement, and continuance of the program pledged.

ACCIDENT COMPENSATION TO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES—Legislation making liberal compensation is advocated.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES—The platform favors the increase of wages, which in many cases are below a standard of decent living.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN—The party declares for political equality for men and women, and against the exploitation in industry of women and children.



American Labor's Improved Status Since 1914

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BETWEEN Woodrow Wilson's pre-war concern for the new freedom, and Calvin Coolidge's struggle to prevent the renomination for which in ordinary political logic our national prosperity calls, lie fifteen eventful years. Revolutions have been so frequent and so unlike our now respectable English and American revolutions that Warren Harding at Bolívar's statue suggested that perhaps we had better stop speaking of the American revolution and think instead of what occurred here as separation and evolution. The well-known political economist, Professor T. N. Carver, of Harvard University, however, likes the word and the idea of revolution; and with the qualifying "economic" applies it to what has happened in these eventful years to American labor. He insists that the only revolution which has occurred—with all due respect to Russia, Turkey and Italy—is this economic revolution in the United States, as a result of which workers and their families are coming into their own.

Taking into account both increased wage rates in dollars and diminished purchasing power of the dollar, organized labor between 1913 and 1928 has improved its position from 40 to 50 per. cent. According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, taking 1913 as a base, the index number for union rates of wages per hour in 1927 is 259.5. The index number for living costs for the same year is 172.7. Combining these two index numbers, the relative purchasing power of wages measured in living costs becomes 150.3, or about one and a half times that of 1913. In other words, real hourly wages in the organized trades where there is collective bargaining increased on an average by 50 per cent.

For labor in general, organized and unorganized, the corresponding increase in real wages may be put, with rather less confidence, at a little under 30 per cent.

To coal miners, textile workers and farm

labor, such generalizations may seem like mockery. But what will they have? Francis A. Walker, another well-known political economist (one-time President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology), a generation ago proclaimed the revolution which Professor Carver now clarifies but it was even then to be realized only if labor were intelligent, alert and able to look out for its own interests. Neither General Walker nor Professor Carver chose Faneuil Hall as the place to announce their doctrines, but the proximity of both of the institutions from which their important books came to that historic cradle of liberty may well be suggestive.

Our statistical comparisons refer, it is true, to hourly wage rates rather than to annual earnings. Rates do not mean much if the workers are unemployed, and even when they are employed wage earners and their families live, like other people, on incomes, not on wage rates. To translate hourly into annual incomes is useful, although even that gives us only a segment of life. Human welfare depends on what happens over a succession of years. The working day in industry has been somewhat shortened; and this is clearly to be desired, even though it reduces the first multiplier and therefore the product. More leisure each day and each week is still to be regarded as a gain comparable only to an increase in the hourly wage rate. The working day, even in the organized trades, is still too long rather than too short. The real choice now lies not between a week of six full eight-hour days and one which has a Saturday half holiday but between the latter and a five-day week. Time and opportunity to enjoy the good things which can be bought with a generous weekly income are essential to a steadily high standard of living. Such a high standard is now admittedly essential to permanent prosperity. Of course, this five-day, forty-hour

week has not yet been attained. The point is that until it has been we need not greatly concern ourselves about any reduction in income due solely to a shortening of the working day. Within such limits we may even expect the shortening of the day to result, as successive reductions have resulted in the past, in an increase of energy and efficiency which might even justify a continuance of the previous earnings. In other words, the shorter day may not mean diminished product or service, and even may be regarded as a part of the explanation of the higher hourly rate.

The average number of hours per week for the individual workers in manufacturing industries decreased from 60 in 1913 and 1914 to 51 in 1923, or about 15 per cent. We may safely assume that between 1923 and 1928 there has been no material change, although in the organized trades a perceptible reduction still occurs from year to year, the average in 1927 for the trades included in the survey of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics being 45.2 hours per week. Of the trades from which information on this subject was obtained, chauffeurs, teamsters and drivers had the longest regular working week, namely, 54.7 hours; while of the 73 time-work trades covered, 58 averaged less than 45 hours per week. The plasterers, as a group, had the shortest full-time working period per week, 42.1 hours, many of their local unions being on a flat five-day, forty-hour week. The regular number of full-time hours a week in the 73 trades decreased 7.6 per cent. between 1913 and 1927. (*Labor Review* of November, 1927, p. 2.)

As to the length of the working year, the case is somewhat different. In the absence of any system of unemployment insurance, wage earners cannot afford the luxury of idle weeks or months, however desirable it might be to extend the principle of Summer and even Winter vacations to industrial workers. If we do not fix our attention unduly upon the abnormal unemployment of the present moment, we shall not need to discount our comparison of 1928 with 1913 because of any general increase in the number of unemployed days during the year. The probability is that on the whole industry in the United States offers more stable employment now than before the

World War, as well as a shorter day and a higher wage rate.

That the present problem of unemployment is serious cannot be denied; that the number of the unemployed is increasing is established by the testimony of relief agencies as well as by the labor statistics; and it is not until unemployment has become general and sufficiently long continued to use up saving and credit that demands are made on relief societies. Such demands are now coming from skilled as well as unskilled workers, and under circumstances which leave no doubt that they are coming because of slack work and not because workers are slack. The steady and skilled worker has apparently in these last few years become somewhat less secure in his employment, although not less secure than in the period before the World War, when immigration had not yet been appreciably restricted and industrial fluctuations were more frequent and extreme. The unsolved problem of unemployment may well be regarded as "the greatest economic blot on our capitalistic system." (Owen D. Young, *Harvard Business Review*, July, 1924.)

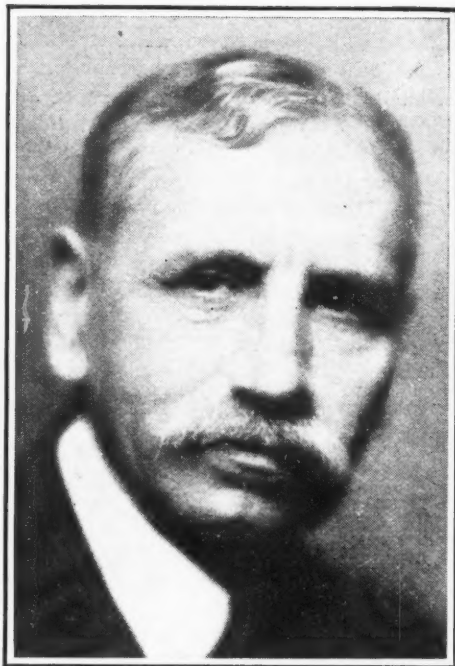
REASONS FOR LABOR'S RECENT PROGRESS

The first and most obvious reason for the great improvement in the condition of labor in the United States lies in the enormous increase in the productivity of labor. General Walker, as I have said, familiarized us with the idea that if workers are alert and able to protect their interests, they will be able to reap the main harvest of progress in the arts and applied sciences. The limitations on profits and unearned incomes have not proved to be as strict as Walker believed, but the distribution of the product of industry has followed his analysis more closely than most pre-war economists could have anticipated. There has been more, much more, to divide; and workers have been in position to claim a substantial if not the lion's share in the division.

Distribution is still unequal. It may be indicted as morally unjust and economically unsound. Some 10 per cent. of the population still receive some 40 per cent. of the national income. The distribution of wealth is even more unequal than that of income. But such disparities are not increasing, and

there is much evidence in support of the contention that a revolution, favorable to labor, is steadily undermining the strength of the privileged classes. Workers are becoming capitalists by investing their gains either through labor banks or in the securities of the industries in which they are employed. Whichever they do makes considerable difference for the strategy of organized labor, but no difference in the result in the general condition of labor. The ideal of "everybody making money" lends itself to sarcastic comment; but it is nevertheless embraced as a realizable and satisfying ideal by that overwhelming majority of workers to whom the notion of a proletarian dictatorship seems to offer no attraction whatever.

The second principal reason for the more favorable position of labor is undoubtedly the relative scarcity of labor. Before the World War American industrial workers were subjected to an extreme and unfair competition from exploitable immigrant labor; and this disadvantage was only partly offset by the agricultural overdevelopment and consequent fall in the prices of agricultural food products. In the '70s 3,000,000 immigrants arrived; in the '80s 5,500,000, and in the eight years ending with the World War they came at the rate of 1,000,000 a year. These immigrants had lower standards of living and they crowded into the urban centres, into the labor market, which was already overstocked. The war brought an abrupt change by preventing emigration from Europe and diverting shipping facilities to military uses; and our new policy of restriction by the quota system made the temporary cessation permanent. Within the United States the monopolistic position in which labor found itself as a result of the war and the quota law, was modified only by Canadian and Mexican immigration and by the Northern migration of negroes. The latter phenomenon, however, may be regarded as merely a means of distributing the economic advantage in an equitable way between races. On the whole, the Northern movement of negroes did not oversupply the demand for labor in the North, and it left those who remained in the South in a stronger position. Thus, the scarcity of labor in the Northern industrial centres was matched,



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although in a diminished degree, by the scarcity of colored labor in the South.

INCREASE IN WAGES SINCE 1907

The following tables and charts from the Bureau of Labor Statistics show clearly the almost uninterrupted increase in hourly wages since 1907, and in real wages since the war. In order to see these changes in a longer perspective, an analysis is also presented showing the change since 1840. From this it will appear how revolutionary is the improvement in the position of labor in the last fifteen years, the increase in that period exceeding that of the previous seventy-five years. The figures relate only to money wages. If they were translated into real wages by taking into account the purchasing power of the dollar, it would appear that there was some increase in real wages between the Civil War and 1896; that between 1896 and 1914 real wages declined. In the next five years there were changes in both directions, leaving real wages about the same in 1919 as in 1914; between 1919 and 1921 there was a big advance; some further increase until

1923, since which time they have remained stable, with a slight advance, however, in 1925 and 1926. The large fact is that workers are actually receiving more in purchasing power than before the World War.

COMPARISON OF CHANGES IN UNION RATES OF WAGES PER HOUR AND IN COST OF LIVING, 1907 to 1927

(1913=100)

Index Numbers of Union Rates of Wages Per Hour	Index Numbers of Cost of Living	Relative Purchasing Power of Wages as Measured in Living Costs	Changes in Purchasing Power of Wages as Compared With 1913. Per Cent.
1907.... 89.7	*82.0	109.4	+ 9.4
1908.... 91.0	*84.3	107.9	+ 7.9
1909.... 91.9	*88.7	103.6	+ 3.6
1910.... 94.4	*93.0	101.5	+ 1.5
1911.... 96.0	*92.0	104.3	+ 4.3
1912.... 97.6	*97.6	100.0	0.0
1913.... 100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
1914.... 101.9	105.0	98.9	- 1.1
1915.... 102.8	105.1	97.8	- 2.2
1916.... 107.2	118.3	90.6	- 9.4
1917.... 114.2	142.4	80.2	-19.8
1918.... 132.7	174.4	76.1	-23.9
1919.... 154.5	188.3	82.0	-18.0
1920.... 199.0	208.5	95.4	- 4.6
1921.... 205.3	177.3	115.8	+15.8
1922.... 193.1	167.3	115.4	+15.4
1923.... 210.6	171.0	123.2	+23.2
1924.... 228.1	170.7	133.6	+33.6
1925.... 237.9	175.7	135.4	+35.4
1926.... 250.3	175.2	142.9	+42.9
1927.... 259.5	172.7	150.3	+50.3

*Food only.

The table below repeats the general index of wages, 1907 to 1926, in parallel with index numbers for cost of living and for the purchasing power of wages as computed therefrom.

(1913=100)

General Index of Wages Per Hour	Index Numbers of Cost of Living	Relative Purchasing Power of Wages as Measured in Living Costs	Changes in Purchasing Power as Compared With 1913. Per Cent.
1907..... 89	*82.0	108.5	+ 8.5
1908..... 89	*84.3	105.6	+ 5.6
1909..... 90	*88.7	101.5	+ 1.5
1910..... 93	*93.0	100.0	0.0
1911..... 95	*92.0	103.3	+ 3.3
1912..... 97	*97.6	99.4	- 0.6
1913.... 100	100.0	100.0	0.0
1914.... 102	103.0	99.0	- 1.0
1915.... 103	105.1	98.0	- 2.0
1916.... 111	118.3	93.8	- 6.2
1917.... 128	142.4	89.9	-10.1
1918.... 162	174.4	92.9	- 7.1
1919.... 184	188.3	97.7	- 2.3
1920.... 234	208.5	112.2	+12.2
1921.... 218	177.3	123.0	+23.0
1922.... 208	167.3	124.3	+24.3
1923.... 217	171.0	126.9	+26.9
1924.... 223	170.7	130.6	+30.6
1925.... 226	175.7	128.6	+28.6
1926.... 229	175.2	130.7	+30.7

*Food only.

The following table shows the index numbers of wages per hour, 1840 to 1926

(Currency basis during Civil War period).

(1913=100)

Year	Index	Year	Index	Year	Index	Year	Index
1840.... 33	1862.... 41	1884.... 64	1906.... 85				
1841.... 34	1863.... 44	1885.... 64	1907.... 89				
1842.... 33	1864.... 50	1886.... 64	1908.... 89				
1843.... 33	1865.... 58	1887.... 67	1909.... 90				
1844.... 32	1866.... 61	1888.... 67	1910.... 93				
1845.... 33	1867.... 63	1889.... 68	1911.... 95				
1846.... 34	1868.... 65	1890.... 69	1912.... 97				
1847.... 34	1869.... 66	1891.... 69	1913.... 100				
1848.... 35	1870.... 67	1892.... 69	1914.... 102				
1849.... 36	1871.... 68	1893.... 69	1915.... 103				
1850.... 35	1872.... 69	1894.... 67	1916.... 111				
1851.... 34	1873.... 69	1895.... 68	1917.... 128				
1852.... 35	1874.... 67	1896.... 69	1918.... 162				
1853.... 35	1875.... 67	1897.... 69	1919.... 184				
1854.... 37	1876.... 64	1898.... 69	1920.... 234				
1855.... 38	1877.... 61	1899.... 70	1921.... 218				
1856.... 39	1878.... 60	1900.... 73	1922.... 208				
1857.... 40	1879.... 59	1901.... 74	1923.... 217				
1858.... 39	1880.... 60	1902.... 77	1924.... 223				
1859.... 39	1881.... 62	1903.... 80	1925.... 226				
1860.... 39	1882.... 63	1904.... 80	1926.... 229				
1861.... 40	1883.... 64	1905.... 82					

FARM WAGE SITUATION UNFAVORABLE

If we turn from the wages of industrial workers to farm wages, we get a very different story. Money wages have increased on the farm also, but not in proportion to the increased cost of living. Over sixty years the money wages of farm laborers have increased threefold, and since 1913 by 75 per cent. The latter increase, however, is actually less than the decrease in the purchasing power of money. Only in two years, 1919 and 1920, has the actual purchasing power of farm wages been above that of 1913; and the Fall of 1921 was so violent as to represent a loss in earning power of more than 25 per cent. in the one year. The situation here is shown by the following tables:

INDEX NUMBERS OF FARM WAGE RATES

1866-1926

(Years 1866 to 1878 in gold)

Year	Average 1910-14 Equals 100	1913 Equals 100	Year	Average 1910-14 Equals 100	1913 Equals 100
1866.....	*55	*53	1909.....	96	92
1869.....	*54	*52	1910.....	97	93
1874 or 1875..	*59	*57	1911.....	97	93
1877 or 1879..	*56	*54	1912.....	101	97
1879 or 1880..	59	57	1913.....	104	100
1880 or 1881..	62	60	1914.....	101	97
1881 or 1882..	65	63	1915.....	102	98
1884 or 1885..	65	63	1916.....	112	108
1887 or 1888..	66	63	1917.....	140	135
1889 or 1890..	66	63	1918.....	176	169
1891 or 1892..	67	64	1919.....	206	198
1893.....	67	64	1920.....	239	230
1894.....	61	59	1921.....	150	144
1895.....	62	60	1922.....	146	140
1898.....	65	63	1923.....	166	160
1899.....	68	65	1924.....	166	160
1902.....	76	73	1925.....	168	162
1906.....	92	88	1926.....	171	164

*Gold basis.

PURCHASING POWER OF FARM WAGES
(1913=100)

Year	Index Numbers of			Changes in Pur- chasing Power
	Farm Wages	Cost of Living	Purchas- ing Power of Farm Wages	
1909.....	92	88.7	103.7	+ 3.7
1910.....	93	93.0	100.0	0.0
1911.....	93	92.0	101.1	+ 1.1
1912.....	97	97.6	99.4	- 0.6
1913.....	100	100.0	100.0	0.0
1914.....	97	103.0	94.2	- 5.8
1915.....	98	105.1	93.2	- 6.8
1916.....	108	118.3	91.3	- 8.7
1917.....	135	142.4	94.8	- 5.2
1918.....	169	174.4	96.9	- 3.1
1919.....	198	188.3	105.2	+ 5.2
1920.....	230	208.5	110.3	+ 10.3
1921.....	144	177.3	81.2	- 18.8
1922.....	140	167.3	83.7	- 16.3
1923.....	160	171.0	93.6	- 6.4
1924.....	160	170.7	93.7	- 6.3
1925.....	162	175.7	92.2	- 7.8
1926.....	164	175.2	93.6	- 6.4

An analysis of the changes in purchasing power of general wages per hour, union wages per hour and farm wages, in comparison with the base year 1913, would give for 1926 a 31 per cent. increase for general wages, a 43 per cent. increase for union wages and a 6 per cent. decrease for farm wages. The reader must bear in mind that this comparison refers to hourly wages and gives a somewhat more favorable impression than the facts warrant, since it does not take into account the diminution in the length of the working day.

For several excellent reasons comparisons have been made throughout with the condition of labor in 1913, just prior to the World War. If we are, however, to get a fair impression of the general trend, we must take into account that wages were low in 1913 and 1914 as compared, for example, with the beginning of that decade. In 1907 the purchasing power of wages, measured in living costs, was nearly 10 per cent. higher than in 1913, and it was not until the good year of 1921 that real wages came back to and surpassed the level of 1907.

WORKERS IN PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES

It is easier to think of workers in particular industries than of so composite a body as wage earners in general, and we may therefore turn to the interesting facts set forth by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in succeeding numbers of its monthly bulletin for such detailed information in a few typical industries.

In the men's clothing industry, for exam-

ple, hourly earnings in 1926 were three times those of 1911. Between 1924 and 1926, however, there was a decrease attributed to the increased proportion of women employed. In the boot and shoe industry, hourly earnings in 1926 were 119.1 per cent. higher than in 1913, but 5.6 per cent. lower than in 1920. The regular working hours per week decreased 11.1 per cent. For this reason weekly earnings did not increase in the same proportion as average hourly earnings, but in 1920 they were little more than twice those of 1913. In cotton goods manufacturing the average full time hours per week decreased from an index of 100 in 1913 to 89.7 in 1920, and then increased to 92.3 in 1926. Average earnings per hour for the industry increased from an index of 100 in 1913 to 323.5 in 1920, and from this high point decreased to 221 in 1926. Average full-time earnings per week for this industry stood at 205.2 in 1926 on the basis of 100 for 1913.

In the hosiery and underwear industries average earnings per hour increased from an index of 100 in 1913 to 266.6 in 1926. Full-time earnings per week, while increasing greatly from period to period, have not progressed in quite the same proportion as earnings per hour, the difference, as in the case of other industries, being due to the reduction in the full-time hours per week. In woolen and worsted goods manufacturing the average full-time hours per week for the industry decreased from an index of 100 in 1913 to 86.2 in 1920 and stood at 88 in 1926. Average full-time earnings per week for this industry increased from an index of 100 in 1913 to 242.3 in 1926, having been at 303.6 in 1920.

In the above industries there has been an increase in real wages, although of course less than the above figures would indicate, and not all industrial workers have actually enjoyed an increase in real wages. In the tobacco industry, which in 1925 employed 132,132 workers, real wages were in that year 5.5 per cent. lower than they had been in 1904. In the industry of manufacturing lumber and timber products, employing 473,998 workers, real wages were 6.3 per cent. lower in 1925 than in 1904.

Thus far the present discussion has dealt only with increases in money wages and in real wages. One of the most important

features of the current economic revolution is that organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and its President, William Green, are no longer content to struggle either for higher money wages or for higher real wages. Just as higher money wages, from an economic point of view, do not improve the situation of the worker if prices increase more than money wages, so it is now declared in an official statement announcing the new policy that "higher real wages from a social point of view do not improve the situation of the worker if productivity increases more than real wages." The new wage policy first adopted by the convention of the Federation in Atlantic City in 1925 demands that wages shall share in increased productivity. It is not enough for wage earners to be able to buy more of the necessities and comforts of life if others who share in the distribution of the national income find their position improved to an even greater extent. Higher productivity without corresponding increase of real wages means that the additional product is bought by others than the wage earners. This means that the social position of wage earners in relation to other consumers becomes worse, because his standard of living does not advance proportionately with those of other groups.

HIGHER "SOCIAL WAGES"

Consistently with this policy, the Federation of Labor "no longer strives merely for higher money wages; it no longer strives merely for higher real wages; it strives for *higher social wages*, for wages which increase as measured by prices and productivity."

This idea of a social wage may be compared with that of a cultural wage devel-

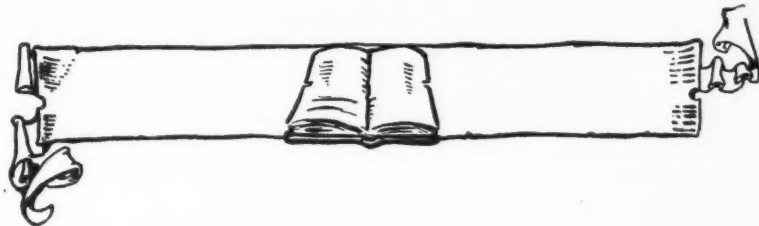
oped in the address of Mr. Owen D. Young at Harvard University from which we have already quoted. Mr. Young asks:

Are we providing for our families not merely clothes and food and shelter while we are working, but an insurance for them when our working time is ended either by age, disability, or death? Are we providing more cultural opportunities for ourselves and our children? In a word, are we free men? * * * No man is free who can provide only for physical needs. He must also be in a position to take advantage of cultural opportunities. * * * I have referred elsewhere to the cultural wage. I repeat it here as an appropriate term with which to measure the right earnings of every member of a sound society, competent and willing to work.

We may conclude this survey of the position of labor at the present time with the following interesting table, which compares social wages as above interpreted both with money wages and with real wages for the manufacturing industries as a whole and for certain selected typical industries. It will be seen that with the exception of the tobacco industry, social wages as well as real wages have increased, although in the case of the automobile industry, the increase is slight. (This table was compiled by the Statistician of the American Federation of Labor from statistics of the Census Bureau, United States Department of Commerce.)

YEARLY WAGES IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Industries	Year	Money Wages	Real Wages	Social Wages
Mfg. Industry	1914	\$ 580	100	100
as a whole...	1927	1,301	135	114
Automobiles	1914	802	100	100
	1927	1,603	120	101
Food Products	1914	566	100	100
	1927	1,226	130	109
Lumber	1914	516	100	100
	1927	1,107	129	108
Paper & P'ting	1914	655	100	100
	1927	1,572	144	121
Textiles	1914	449	100	100
	1927	1,027	138	115
Tobacco	1914	435	100	100
	1927	857	118	100



The Evidence That Convicted Germany

The article published herewith, written by Dr. Alfred von Wegerer, editor of *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, an official German periodical devoted exclusively to the study of World War origins, embodies a searching analysis of the evidence used by the international Committee on Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Sanctions in formulating its report on War Responsibility presented to the Preliminary Peace Conference on March 29, 1919. Dr. von Wegerer contends that the findings of this report, fixing sole responsibility for the war on Germany and her allies, and afterward embodied in the famous Article 231 of the Versailles Peace Treaty, was based upon insufficient data, and in certain cases, on mutilated and even forged documents. He closes his article with a challenge to the fifteen members of the committee "asking those who drew up the report whether they would today, in view of what we have pointed out in the foregoing passages, still endorse the report."

On receiving Dr. von Wegerer's article, the editor of *CURRENT HISTORY* had it put into type, and sent proofs to each of the fifteen members of the original committee, with a letter offering the hospitality of our columns to any comment or statement that they might wish to make. Certain prominent members of the committee declined to reply to Dr. von Wegerer; certain others who did reply did not wish to be quoted. The replies actually sent for publication follow Dr. von Wegerer's article.

A repercussion of the report of the Committee of Fifteen was reported from Heidelberg, Germany, on June 20. When Dr. James Scott Brown of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and one of the signers of the report was attacked on the eve of delivering a lecture on International Law at Heidelberg University by several German Nationalist newspapers as one of the Committee of Fifteen which fixed sole blame for the war on Germany, and challenged to state whether he still held to the verdict embodied in the report, he replied that as long as Washington had not officially changed its position taken at the Peace Conference, it would not be proper for him to repudiate an opinion expressed while he was representing his Government. He then declined to lecture at Heidelberg University. Subsequently (on June 26) he lectured at Frankfurt University, where he was cordially received.—
EDITOR OF *CURRENT HISTORY*.

I—The Evidence Challenged

By ALFRED VON WEGERER

EDITOR OF *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*

AT the beginning of 1919 the Preliminary Peace Conference on the World War met in Paris and at a meeting held on Jan. 25 resolved to set up a committee consisting of fifteen members who were to establish the responsibility of the originators of the war and to fix the penalties

to be imposed.¹ The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan were each to send two members to the committee, while five further members were to be

¹Cf. The German *White Book* on Responsibility for the War. *Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte*. Berlin 1927.

chosen from among the smaller States that had taken a more or less prominent part in the war. The committee was to investigate various points and report on them to the Conference. The first point the committee had to consider was: The responsibility of the originators of the war.

At the meeting held on Jan. 27, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania and Serbia were chosen from among the smaller Powers as those that were to send a delegate to the committee.

The delegates appointed to this committee in 1919 are for the most part still taking an active part in politics. The full list, including alternates, was as follows:

COMMITTEE ON WAR RESPONSIBILITY AND SANCTIONS

Chairman: Hon. Robert Lansing (United States of America).

Vice-Chairmen: The Rt. Hon. Sir Gordon Hewart or Sir Ernest Pollock [Lord Hanworth] (British Empire); M. A. Scialoja (Italy).

United States of America:
Hon. Robert Lansing.
James Brown Scott.

British Empire:
The Rt. Hon. Sir Gordon Hewart.
Optional Substitutes:
Sir Ernest Pollock.
The Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey.

France:
André Tardieu.
Optional Substitutes:
Capitaine Masson.
M. F. Larnaude.

Italy:
M. A. Scialoja.
Optional Substitutes:
M. A. Ricci-Busatti.
M. Gustavo Tostl.
M. M. d'Amelio.

Japan:
M. Adachi.
Optional Substitutes:
M. H. Nagaoka.
M. Sakutaro Tachi.

Belgium:
M. Rolin-Jaequemyns.

Greece:
M. Nicolas Politis.

Poland:
M. Constantin Skirmunt.
Optional Substitutes:
M. Leon Lubinski.

Rumania:
M. S. Rosental.

Serbia:
M. Slobodan Yovanovich.
Optional Substitutes:
M. Koumanoudi.
M. A. Novacovitch.

The committee itself sat from the end

of January and after two months' work laid before the Preliminary Peace Conference on March 29, 1919, a report on the responsibility of the originators of the war entitled "*Rapport présenté à la Conférence des Préliminaires de Paix par la Commission des Responsabilités des Auteurs de la Guerre et Sanctions.*". (Report presented to the Conference on Peace Preliminaries by the Committee on Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Sanctions.)

The official English text of the report is published as Pamphlet 32 by the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington.

VERDICT OF PRELIMINARY PEACE CONFERENCE

This report, which we shall refer to in this article briefly as the "Report," arrived at the following well-known conclusion:

The war was deliberately planned by the Central Powers and by their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, and is the result of actions which were committed with premeditation and intentionally, in order to make it inevitable.

In agreement with Austro-Hungary, Germany deliberately labored to set aside the numerous mediatory proposals of the Entente Powers and to frustrate their repeated attempts to prevent the war.

This verdict pronounced by the Preliminary Peace Conference concerning the responsibility of the Central Powers in bringing about the outbreak of the World War is consequently not to be regarded as a mere arbitrary judgment, but as the result of an investigation undertaken by prominent jurists and historians on the basis of official and non-official material.

It is not our intention to discuss the contents of the Report itself.* We shall here merely try to discover what value is to be attached to the documents consulted by the committee as a basis for their report. It goes without saying that the correctness of the verdict given in the Report depends in the main upon the reliability of the documents consulted.

The footnotes appended to the Report give us the information we need with

*The Report itself has been refuted in a special article entitled "The Refutation of the War-Guilt Hypothesis of the Versailles Treaty," published in the January number of the monthly journal *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, Berlin, N. W. 6.

regard to the documents made use of. These documents consist in the main of the Color Books published by the various Governments after the outbreak of the war and of certain other official documents, as well as a number of publications of unofficial character.

The following Color Books were used by the committee: The German *White Book* of 1914 and that of 1915, the Austrian *Red Book* of 1915, the English *Blue Book* of 1914, the French *Yellow Book* of 1914, the Russian *Orange Book* of 1914, the Serbian *Blue Book* of 1914, the Greek *White Book* of 1913. Also a *Memorandum* of the Serbian Delegation, and extracts from the documents supplied by the Serbian Delegation and furthermore the Treaty of August 24-Sept. 6, 1915, between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. Among other official documents the Report mentions Emperor Franz Joseph's *Message to His People*, a report of the Bavarian Minister, von Lerchenfeld, dated July 18, 1914, and a further report from Count Lerchenfeld, dated July 31, according to the text published by Kurt Eisner.

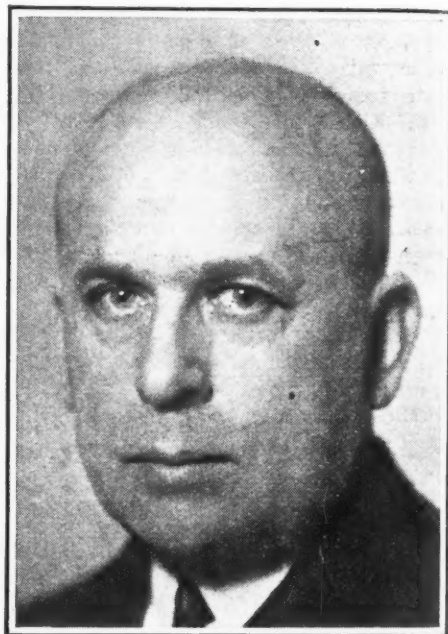
The non-official documents used were Prince Lichnowsky's *Memorandum*, Dr. Muehlton's *Memorandum*, H. Morgenthau's *Secrets of the Bosphorus*, London 1918, and Basri Bey's *The De-Balkanised Orient and Albania*.

EXAMINATION OF THE DOCUMENTS

We shall now proceed to subject this material to examination, document by document.

The German White Book of 1914—The committee had at its disposal the following German official documents concerning the July crisis and the outbreak of the war: The German *White Book* of 1914 and the enlarged edition of May, 1915. While the German *White Book* of 1914 contained in the main a memorandum that was drawn up in a great hurry and in which Austria had to be spared as far as possible, to which several documents (some of which were abridged and had had their text slightly changed about) were added as an appendix, the German *White Book* of 1915 contained some thirty German documents.

How incomplete the German material was will at once become clear when we com-



ALFRED VON WEGERER

pare it with the German *Documents Concerning the Outbreak of the War* published by the German Government in November, 1919, the so-called Kautsky Documents, which contained altogether 879 documents.

Concerning the incompleteness of the German *White Book* of 1915 the members of the committee themselves could scarcely have been in doubt. The committee did not, however, consider it necessary to ask for any further documentary material from the German Government before delivering its verdict concerning the responsibility of the Central Powers for the war. The German *White Book* of 1914 and 1915 could not but lead to entirely erroneous conclusions concerning the responsibility of the German Government for the outbreak of the war, inasmuch as in this *White Book*—which was published during the war—it could, out of regard for Austria, not publish all the documents, as some of them might have brought forward too conspicuously the responsibility of Germany's ally for the way it settled its accounts with Serbia. Among the documents not included are all the earnest exhortations addressed by Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg to the German Ambassador at Vienna, Herr von

Tschirschky, with the object of persuading Austria to give way and to limit her belligerent action.²

Austro-Hungarian Red Book of 1915—The case for the *Austro-Hungarian Red Book* of 1915 is much the same as for the German *White Books*. The *Austro-Hungarian Red Book* which the committee had at its disposal had been concluded on Feb. 3, 1915, and contained sixty-nine documents. How incomplete this material was is manifest from the fact that the new edition which appeared in three parts in September, 1919, contained various additions and supplements which altogether made 352 documents. In this case, too, we may reasonably assume that the committee was well aware of the incompleteness of the documentary material that it had at its disposal. In spite of this, the committee did not think it necessary to take steps to get further documentary material.

The English Blue Book, 1914—This collection contains 159 documents, to which two reports from the British Embassies in Berlin and Vienna, as well as a historical introduction, were added. As was evident from the *British Documents on the Origins of the War 1898-1914*, published at the end of 1926 and containing 677 documents, the above collection of 159 documents, although containing considerably more documents than the German *White Book* and the Austrian *Red Book*, was extraordinarily incomplete. Moreover, as will become clear by comparing the *English Blue Book* of 1914 with the *British Documents* published in 1926, 100 documents out of the 159 documents in the *English Blue Book* were either abridged or paraphrased. Nor were these abridgments made only in cases where it was a question of material of secondary importance which could be left out to save space; the omissions are almost without exception passages which could not but have served to exculpate Germany in a great measure from responsibility for the war. The British Government must therefore have placed at the disposal of the committee material concerning the incompleteness of which it must have been just as cognizant as it was of the fact that the omissions would inevitably lead to wholly

false assumptions on the part of the members of the committee. The latter, who must surely have been aware of the great responsibility attaching to their verdict, did nothing as far as we know to convince themselves of the sufficiency of the documents contained in the *English Blue Book*.

We quote below an example to show to what extent abridgments were made in various documents of the *Blue Book* of 1914, abridgments which entirely altered the real content of the document. We select for this purpose from the *British Documents* the document marked No. 101, which in the *Blue Book* of 1914 is marked No. 6. The passages omitted are here printed in italics:

No. 101.

Sir G. Buchanan to Sir Edward Grey.
St. Petersburg, July 24, 1914.

D. 5:40 P. M.

R. 8 P. M.

Tel. (No. 166). Urgent.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Minister for Foreign Affairs telephoned to me this morning saying that he had just received text of ultimatum presented by Austria at Belgrade yesterday that demands a reply in forty-eight hours. Step thus taken by Austria meant war and he begged me to meet him at the French Embassy.

Minister for Foreign Affairs and French Ambassador told me confidentially that result of the visit of the President of the French Republic had been to establish the following points:

1. Perfect community of views on the various problems with which the Powers are confronted as regards the maintenance of general peace and balance of power in Europe, more especially in the East.

2. Decision to take action at Vienna with a view to the prevention of a demand for explanations or any summons equivalent to an intervention in the internal affairs of Serbia which the latter would be justified in regarding as an attack on her sovereignty and independence.

3. Solemn affirmation of obligations imposed by the alliance of the two countries.

Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed the hope that His Majesty's Government would proclaim their solidarity with France and Russia. He characterized Austria's conduct as immoral and provocative. Some of the demands which she had presented were absolutely unacceptable and she would never have acted as she had done without having first consulted Germany. The French Ambassador gave me to understand that France would not only give Russia strong diplomatic support, but would, if necessary, fulfill all the obligations imposed on her by the alliance.

I said that I could not speak in the name of His Majesty's Government, but that I would telegraph all that they had said. I could personally hold out no hope that His Majesty's Government would make any

²Cf. *Deutsche Dokumente von 1919*, Nos. 361, 395, 396.

declaration of solidarity that would entail engagement to support France and Russia by force of arms. We had no direct interests in Serbia and public opinion in England would never sanction a war on her behalf. Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that the Serbian question was but part of general European question and that we could not efface ourselves.

I said that I gathered that His Excellency wished us to join in telling Austria that we could not tolerate her active intervention in Serbian internal affairs. If she paid no attention to our representations and took military action against Serbia, did Russia propose to declare war upon her? Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the whole question would be considered by a Council of Ministers to be held this afternoon, but that no decision would be taken till a further Council of Ministers had been held under the presidency of the Emperor, probably tomorrow. He personally thought that Russia would at any rate have to mobilise.

I suggested that the first thing to be done was to try to gain time by bringing our influence to bear to induce Austria to extend term of delay accorded to Serbia. The French Ambassador replied that time did not permit of this; either Austria was bluffing or had made up her mind to act at once. In either case a firm and united attitude was our only chance of averting war. I then asked whether it would not be advisable to urge Serbian Government to state precisely how far they were prepared to go to meet Austria's wishes. Minister for Foreign Affairs said that some of the demands contained in ultimatum might no doubt be accepted, but that he must first consult his colleagues.

As they both continued to press me to declare our complete solidarity with them, I said that I thought you might be prepared to represent strongly at Vienna and Berlin danger to European peace of an Austrian attack on Serbia. You might perhaps point out that it would in all probability force Russia to intervene, that this would bring Germany and (France) into the field, and that if war became general, it would be difficult for England to remain neutral. Minister for Foreign Affairs said that he hoped that we would in any case express strong reprobation of Austria's action. If war did break out, we would sooner or later be dragged into it, but if we did not make common cause with France and Russia from the outset we should have rendered war more likely, and should not have played a "beau rôle."

From French Ambassador's language it almost looked as if France and Russia were determined to make a strong stand even if we declined to join them. *Language of Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, was not so (?decided) on this subject.*

Austrian Government seemed purposely to have presented their ultimatum at moment when President of the French Republic and President of the Council were leaving Russia on their return to France, where they cannot arrive for four or five days.

Toward the close of our interview we were joined by Rumanian Minister, with whom Minister for Foreign Affairs had a private conversation in which His Excellency in-

vited also Rumanian Government to make representations at Vienna.

SERIOUS OMISSIONS

How important in some cases were the contents of the documents altogether omitted from the Blue Book is clear from the British Document marked No. 132, which we here reproduce in full:

No. 132.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir G. Buchanan.
(No. 295.) Confidential.

Foreign Office, July 25, 1914.

Sir,

I told Count Benckendorff today of what I had said to the German Ambassador this morning as to the possibility of Germany, Italy, France and ourselves working together in Vienna and St. Petersburg to secure peace after Austria and Russia had mobilised.

Count Benckendorff was very apprehensive that what I said would give Germany the impression that France and England were detached from Russia.

I said that France and ourselves, according to my suggestion, would be no more detached from Russia than Germany would be detached from her ally Austria. I had emphasised to Prince Lichnowsky that the participation of Germany in any such diplomatic mediations was an essential condition, and surely the situation was not made unsatisfactory for Russia if France and England held their hands, provided that Germany also held hers.

Count Benckendorff urged that I should give some indication to Germany to make her think that we would not stand aside if there was a war.

I said that I had given no indication that we would stand aside; on the contrary, I had said to the German Ambassador that, as long as there was only a dispute between Austria and Serbia alone, I did not feel entitled to intervene; but that, directly it was a matter between Austria and Russia, it became a question of the peace of Europe, which concerned us all. I had furthermore spoken on the assumption that Russia would mobilise, whereas the assumption of the German Government had hitherto been, officially, that Serbia would receive no support; and what I had said must influence the German Government to take the matter seriously. In effect, I was asking that if Russia mobilised against Austria, the German Government, who had been supporting the Austrian demand on Serbia, should ask Austria to consider some modification of her demands, under the threat of Russian mobilisation. This was not an easy thing for Germany to do, even though we would join at the same time in asking Russia to suspend action. I was afraid, too, that Germany would reply that mobilisation with her was a question of hours, whereas with Russia it was a question of days; and that, as a matter of fact, I had asked that if Russia mobilised against Austria, Germany, instead of mobilising against Russia, should suspend mobilisation and join with us in intervention with Austria, thereby throwing away the advantage of time, for, if the

diplomatic intervention failed, Russia would meanwhile have gained time for her mobilisation. It was true that I had not said anything directly as to whether we would take any part or not if there was a European conflict, and I could not say so; but there was absolutely nothing for Russia to complain of in the suggestion that I had made to the German Government, and I was only afraid that there might be difficulty in its acceptance by the German Government. I had made it on my own responsibility, and I had no doubt it was the best proposal to make in the interests of peace.

I am, &c.,
E. GREY.

The French Yellow Book of 1914—This is the worst case of all. The *Yellow Book*, published by the French Government on Dec. 1, 1914, contained 159 documents, six of which belong to the year 1913 and served the purpose of propaganda, being intended to show in an exaggerated light the nature of German militarism. One of these so-called documents was the falsified memorandum purporting to have been written by General Ludendorff. For the rest, the remarks made above concerning the English *Blue Book* apply in an even higher degree to the French *Yellow Book*. Although we are not in a position as yet to give the exact figures to show how incomplete the French *Yellow Book* of 1914 really was, since the French archives concerning the outbreak of the war have not yet been thrown open to European investigators, we can hardly go wrong in assuming that the documents that were not published by France are also several hundred in number and that they would long since have been published had there not been good reason why they should shun the light of day. Quite apart from the many obvious gaps in the French *Yellow Book*, it is clearly demonstrable that the *Yellow Book* contains several documents the text of which has been falsified so as to distort the sense in a manner unfavorable to Germany. It is even clear that certain of the documents are pure inventions.

DELIBERATE FALSIFICATION

In order to show how misleading the French *Yellow Book* really was, we quote below the authentic text of Document 118 and the forged text of the document as it appeared in the French *Yellow Book*. The message which the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, M. Paléologue, dispatched

to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. René Viviani, concerning the Russian mobilization on July 31, was short and to the point. It ran as follows:

No. 318.

St. Petersburg,
31st July, 1914.

Handed in at 1:45 A. M.

Arrived at Paris at 8:30 P. M.

The general mobilization of the Russian Army has been ordered.

PALEOLOGUE.

Instead of this telegram the official *Yellow Book* of 1914 contains the following announcement, which is nothing short of a malicious falsification of the real text:

St. Petersburg, 31 July, 1914.

By reason of the general mobilization of Austria and the mobilization measures which, for the past six days, have been secretly but uninterruptedly carried out by Germany, the order for the general mobilization of the Russian Army has been issued, as Russia cannot without the gravest danger allow herself to be anticipated in this matter; as a matter of fact, the military measures taken by Russia merely correspond to those taken by Germany.

For imperative strategic reasons Russia, after learning that Germany was arming, could no longer postpone changing the partial mobilization into a general mobilization.

PALEOLOGUE.

This document, which is a mere invention of the French, is made up of nothing but untruths. The Austrian general mobilization was ordered *after* the Russian general mobilization. At the time when this telegram was handed in Germany had ordered neither secret nor uninterrupted mobilization measures, to say nothing of their having already been in progress for six days, and there could therefore be no reason for thinking of any attempt on the part of Germany to forestall Russia. On the contrary, exactly the reverse was the case; Russia had anticipated Germany by several days, as she had officially begun her mobilization measures on July 25.

The Russian Orange Book of 1914—Simultaneously with the British Government, the Russian Government had, on Aug. 6, published a collection of documents concerning the July crisis. A large number of these documents were abridged in a manner disadvantageous to Germany. In a very illuminating publication the falsifications of the Russian *Orange Book* were in 1922, on behalf of Germany, revealed by

Baron von Romberg.³ How incomplete the Russian *Orange Book* of 1914 is becomes clear from the new edition of *Das Russische Orangebuch von 1914*, published by the Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegursachen. This volume contains 227 documents, while the *Orangebuch* of 1914 gave only seventy-nine documents.

OMISSIONS FROM RUSSIAN ORANGE BOOK

In order to show by an example the sort of omissions from individual documents that characterized the Russian *Orange Book*, we here print the report of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in France, M. Sevastopulo, from the Romberg publication. The passages omitted, of which the committee had not been informed, are here printed in italics:

Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Telegram No. 184. (R. O. B. No. 8.)

Paris, July (11) 24, 1914.

A copy of the note officially presented at Belgrade has today been communicated to the French Government by the Austrian Ambassador, with the addition of a detailed statement of reasons which already was published in the papers. The German Ambassador later visited the Minister⁴ and read to him a communication containing the Austrian arguments, and indicating that in case of a refusal or aggressive attitude on the part of Serbia, Austria would be obliged to resort to pressure and, in case of need, to military measures. The communication ended with the observation that, in the opinion of Germany, this question ought to be settled between Austria and Serbia direct, that it was to the advantage of the Powers to localize the affair by leaving it to the interested parties, and that Germany ardently desired the localization of the conflict, for the interference of another Power would, on account of existing treaties, bring on incalculable consequences. The Acting Head of the Political Department,⁵ who was present at the interview, asked the Ambassador whether the Austrian action should be considered as an ultimatum or only as a *mise en demeure*—in other words whether, in the event of Serbia not submitting entirely to the Austrian demands, hostilities were inevitable. The Ambassador avoided a direct reply, alleging that he had no instructions. *But from his tone one could imply that the hope of a settlement of the incident through Austro-Serbian negotiations is not as yet lost. As Berthelot further told me, former Minister*

Pichon today had a conference with the Austrian Ambassador from which he also gained the impression that Austria does not consider her measure an unconditional ultimatum.
SEVASTOPULO.

To illustrate the importance of some of these omitted documents, we reproduce the following telegram from the Romberg publications, a telegram of which there is no trace in the *Orange Book*.

Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Telegram No. 222. (R. O. B. No. —.)

Paris (July 19) August 1, 1914.

Your telegram about Germany's declaration of war against us reached me at eleven o'clock. I communicated it at once personally to the President of the Republic who immediately called the ministers into conference. Poincaré declared to me in the most emphatic manner that he himself as well as the whole Cabinet are firmly resolved to fulfill wholly and completely the duties which the alliance imposes upon France. From this, however, a number of highly complicated questions arise, questions of a political as well as a strategic nature. First of all, according to the French Constitution, a decision of Parliament is necessary to declare war. To convene Parliament would take at least two days. Although Poincaré does not doubt what the decision would be, he would yet prefer to omit public debate of the application of the Treaty of Alliance. For this reason and from considerations mostly in regard to England it would be preferable if the declaration of war came from Germany, instead of from France. Further, one should consider that this is only the first day of mobilization and that it would be more favorable for both allies if France should not begin military operations before her mobilization is more advanced. However, Poincaré is convinced that Germany will not wait for the declaration of France, but will attack her at once, without allowing her to finish mobilization. Poincaré will call me as soon as the conference has discussed all these questions and will tell me the result.

ISVOLSKY.

The Serbian *Blue Book* of 1914—The Serbian Government on Nov. 18, 1914, published a *Blue Book* containing fifty-two documents concerning the events that had taken place between July 29 and Aug. 6. As no full edition of the Serbian documents concerning the outbreak of war has up to the present appeared and as even individual documents concerning the outbreak of war have not been divulged in the meantime, it is impossible to adduce any direct proof concerning the incompleteness of the Serbian *Blue Book*. There can, nevertheless, be no doubt that this has at least as many gaps in it as the other Color Books. The *Blue Book*, for instance, publishes only

³Cf. Baron von Romberg: *Die Fälschungen des Russischen Orangebuches*, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin.

⁴Bienvenu-Martin, French Minister of Justice, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs during Viviani's visit in Petersburg.

⁵Berthelot.

three insignificant documents out of the doubtless very extensive and informative telegrams exchanged between Belgrade and St. Petersburg, and only two documents out of the telegrams exchanged between Belgrade and Paris, telegrams which must have contained a great deal of information concerning the cooperation of France in the drafting of the Serbian Reply Note. Of these two documents, one dated July 2, consists of only three lines, while the other, dated July 4, is of no importance whatever. In consequence of the violent attacks that were made in 1924-25 in connection with the revelations of the ex-Minister of Education, M. Ijuba Yovanovich, against the Serbian Government on account of its cognizance of the Sarajevo crime, the Yugoslav Government announced the impending publication of a new *Blue Book*, but up to the present it has not published a single new Serbian document concerning the outbreak of war. For this reason we are unable to institute investigations as to whether the documents reprinted in the Serbian *Blue Book* correspond with the actual originals or not.

We may, however, point out one error that is already demonstrable, but concerning the origin of which we can pass no judgment. The Serbian Minister in Vienna, M. Yovanovich, on Aug. 16 sent to M. Pashich, then Prime Minister, a letter in which he mentions that at the beginning of July a change had taken place in the demeanor of Austria, and he adds in this connection that the Chief of the Austrian General Staff, Conrad von Hoetzendorff, was now in the south, now in the east and then in the north of the monarchy, "where he had a meeting in Bohemia, I believe in Carlsbad, with the German Chief of Staff, Count Moltke."

This story, which as late as the year 1922 was dragged into the *London Times* (May 1, 1922) by the British Vice-Consul, McGann, is, as is clear from the documents published by Field Marshal Conrad, as well as on the basis of other ascertained facts, demonstrably incorrect. Moltke saw Conrad⁶ for the last time on May 12.

Other Official Documents—Besides these collections of official documents the Committee, as we have already mentioned

above, made use of the Greek *White Book* in coming to its decision concerning the responsibility for the war. Any detailed criticism of this Color Book is hardly necessary. The Committee also had at its disposal a *Memorandum of the Serbian Delegation* (comprising several chapters) of which we only know that it was accompanied by certain original documents, among others the Treaty of Aug. 24-Sept. 6, 1915, between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria.⁷ It would be exceedingly valuable if this hitherto undivulged *Memorandum* of the Serbian Delegation could be published and made accessible to scientific criticism.

The Report mentions a passage in the *Message of Kaiser Franz Joseph to His People*. Although this document is the only one in which we can discover nothing to criticize, we must nevertheless unfortunately admit that those responsible for the Report have quoted the text of this document incorrectly. According to the Report, the passage quoted reads: "This is the action of a small, misguided section," while the correct text of the document reads, "The madness of a little band of misguided men cannot, however, loosen the holy bond which knits me and my peoples together."⁸

The Report also quotes a report written by Count Lerchenfeld, dated July 18. As a matter of fact this report was not written by Count Lerchenfeld himself, but by the then Chargé d'Affaires of the Bavarian Legation, Herr von Schoen. With regard to the report itself, it must be said that it is, as was shown in the Fechenbach trial of 1922, a "falsification."

The second report from Count Lerchenfeld, dated July 31, and quoted in the text (as published by Kurt Eisner) was not a report at all, but a telephone message from the Bavarian Legation in Berlin to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Munich. The publication of the text according to Kurt Eisner also reveals an alteration of the real text. We must, however, not forget to point out that it is not the men who drew up the Report, but Kurt Eisner who

⁷Cf. in this connection Pribram: *Austrian Foreign Policy, 1908-18*, London, 1923. P. 90 and 91.

⁸Cf. Schulthess: *Europäischer Geschichtskalender*, 1914, p. 463.

⁶Conrad, Vol. 3, p. 673.

should be held responsible for the erroneous-ness of the sources that have here been quoted. Whether the committee was aware of the falsifications introduced by Eisner, who was murdered on Feb. 21, 1919, is beyond our knowledge.

THE NON-OFFICIAL MATERIAL

Prince Lichnowsky's Memorandum—Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London, had in the Summer of 1916 written down a number of private notes which he intended for his family archives. He made these notes without having at his disposal the official documents and notes belonging to the period of his official activities. These notes, to which he attached the title, "My Mission to London," he sent to the director of the Hamburg-America Line, Albert Ballin, to the director of the Deutsche Bank, Arthur von Gwinner, and to the editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Theodor Wolff. Each of the three persons named guarded this dangerous gift in the deepest drawer of his writing desk, says Theodor Wolff in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of March 25, 1918. A fourth copy, however, fell into the hands of an army captain, who without Prince Lichnowsky's knowledge, had a number of copies of the *Memorandum* made and sent them to various people in high places.

It thus came about that the *Memorandum* found its way by some channel or other to Sweden, where, in March, 1918, it was printed in the Socialist paper *Politiken*. The opinion that Prince Lichnowsky himself had of his *Memorandum* is clear from a letter dispatched by him to the German Chancellor, Count Hertling, dated March 5, 1918. In this letter he says that his *Memorandum* contains in the main "subjective considerations" concerning Germany's whole system of foreign policy since the Berlin Congress and that his notes, through an unheard-of breach of faith, had found their way into outside circulation.

The *Memorandum*, therefore, cannot be looked upon as a final verdict or as a final expression of Prince Lichnowsky's views on the outbreak of war; it is certainly not a document which the members of the Committee should have been allowed to use as a basis for their report.

Dr. Muehlton's Memorandum—This Memo-

randum is a circular which was originally drawn up in the form of a letter written by a certain Dr. Muehlton, who at the time of the outbreak of the war was a member of the board of directors of Krupp's. The document was later reproduced in a number of copies which were sent to various persons by Dr. Muehlton. The time at which the original document was first drawn up is not known to us. According to the letter itself, Dr. Muehlton, in the second half of July, 1914, had various conferences with Dr. Helfferich and Herr Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach; in this document he relates various utterances which he alleges he heard from these two gentlemen and from which he drew the inference that the German Government in 1914 lacked the will for peace. According to Schulthess' *Geschichtskalender* for the year 1918, Part I, from which we have taken these and the following data, the two gentlemen, as was stated at the meeting of the Main Committee of the Reichstag held on March 16, expressed the opinion that in the case of Dr. Muehlton

they had to deal with a man who was ill and nervous and who, even at the time of his official activities at Essen, had not been able to enter a room in which several men with whom he was not acquainted were assembled, and who, after his retirement from the board of directors had repeatedly had nervous breakdowns, and had had to sacrifice a long period exclusively for the recovery of his health. Dr. Helfferich and Herr Krupp did not assume that Dr. Muehlton had actually wished to injure the Fatherland, but they definitely denied the expressions he had put into their mouths, from which expressions, moreover, he had tried to deduce his conclusions. They could only describe the document he had written as pathological.

The Remaining Non-Official Documents—As was already said at the beginning of this article, we are here referring to a book written by the American Minister at Constantinople called *The Secrets of the Bosphorus*. The book itself is not known to us. We have in our possession, however, an article entitled *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, published in New York in 1918 by Doubleday, Page & Co., as well as a French translation of this book under the title *Mémoires de l'Ambassadeur Morgenthau*, published by Payot & Cie., Paris. We conjecture that the two publications are identical and that the edition

that lay at the disposal of the Committee was merely the same book with another title. As for Morgenthau's book itself, we should like to refer our readers to the trenchant criticism written by the American historian, Sidney B. Fay, and entitled *Mr. Morgenthau's Legend of the Potsdam Crown Council*, which was published in February, 1925, in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*. The remaining document mentioned in the Report, Basry Bey's *The De-Balkanised Orient and Albania*, we have unfortunately not yet been able to obtain. We cannot, therefore, pass any judgment as to its value. But we can at least say that this document, even should it prove to be reliable as a source, cannot have contained anything decisive for the verdict pronounced in the Report.

COMMITTEE'S VERDICT BASED ON INADEQUATE EVIDENCE

The most important bases for a judgment on the point at issue are undoubtedly furnished by the Color Books published during the war. These publications, from start to finish, contain, as we have already shown, only a small fragment of the documentary material available and the individual documents were abridged and disfigured by various omissions and transpositions in the text. The Color Books of the three Great Powers, England, Russia and France, clearly show a tendency to leave out anything that might throw an unfavorable light on their own policy, or that might tend to exculpate the Central Powers. The French *Yellow Book*, in addition to these characteristics, contains forged documents which serve the same purpose.

The remaining official documents are characterized in part by incorrect texts, based upon falsifications, for which the committee, we admit, cannot be held responsible. In the selection of the non-official documents the committee betrayed an evident effort to utilize material of whose extremely doubtful value they must have been aware.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the committee utilized for its Report on the responsibility of the Central Powers for the World War material that was extremely incomplete, full of gaps, tendentious, erroneous, and, in part, falsified. This certainly is a very harsh judgment, but, as we think we have shown, it is one quite in accordance with the facts.

It is evident that on the basis of such material no verdict of even moderate soundness could be pronounced concerning the responsibility for the war. In addition to this, it must be pointed out that the nations condemned were not allowed to defend themselves and that the material placed at the disposal of the committee was consequently the sole basis of their verdict.

In order to understand the monstrous character of this procedure, we must bear in mind how serious the consequences of the Report have been for the Central Powers. On this Report was based the verdict concerning Germany's war guilt and on this verdict again rests, as the Allies themselves have repeatedly and emphatically stated, the Versailles Treaty of Peace.

We would fain not close without asking those who drew up the Report whether they would today, in view of what we have pointed out in the foregoing passages, still endorse the Report.

II—Replies by Members of the Committee:

1—SIR ERNEST POLLOCK (Lord Hanworth)
—Great Britain:

"Royal Courts of Justice,
"London, Jan. 19, 1928.

"I AM obliged for your letter and your offer of the hospitality of your columns to answer the article which is to appear in your magazine written by Dr. Alfred von Wegerer.

"It is true that I was a member of the

committee which drew up the report, some part of which is criticized by Dr. von Wegerer. The report gives full reference to the authorities on which its conclusions are based. These authorities have been added to since the war ended. Dr. von Wegerer's criticisms form a contribution to the literature upon the outbreak of the war and must be taken in their true relation and perspective to authoritative publications in an opposite sense.

"As Master of the Rolls—that is to say, President of the Court of Appeal—my time is fully occupied and I fear leaves no balance available to examine Dr. von Wegerer's statements and answer them.

"While thanking you, therefore, for your offer, I find myself compelled to decline it.

"HAN WORTH."

2—ANDRE TARDIEU—*France*:

"Ministry of Public Works,

"Office of the Minister,

"Paris, Jan. 13, 1928.

"MY position as member of the Government makes it impossible for me to answer your question.

"I have, therefore, turned your letter over to my former collaborator, M. Louis Aubert, who was my chief secretary during the Peace Conference.

"ANDRE TARDIEU."

[*Editorial Note*—No MS was subsequently received either from M. Tardieu or from M. Aubert.]

3—F. LARNAUDE—*France*:

"Hontanbère Domain,

"By Castelnau d'Auzangers,

"France.

"I THANK you for sending me the article by Mr. Alfred von Wegerer.

"I shall not reply to it for two reasons. The article, first of all, seems to me to be worthless. Secondly, it seems to me a peculiar procedure to ask those who were members of the Committee on War Responsibility and Sanctions at the Peace Conference to explain individually their reasons for reaching the decision embodied in the report presented by the committee.

"The Germans will never eliminate from the record of history the responsibility which weighs on them—nation and Emperor—both for having deliberately prepared and undertaken this war, and for the abominable crimes which they committed in cold blood and ordered committed—military leaders and soldiers. F. LARNAUDE."

4—BARON ROLIN JAEQUEMYS—*Belgium*:

"Brussels, Belgium,

"December, 1927.

"I HAVE before me the text of the article of Dr. Alfred von Wegerer, which is to appear in the CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

"This article criticizes the work of the committee, which, in the course of the preliminary negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles, was called upon to establish the responsibility of the originators of the World War, and on which I had the honor to sit as a Belgian delegate.

"After indicating various gaps, errors and omissions and even an alleged *falsification* noticed by him in the official documents used by the committee, Dr. von Wegerer infers that the members of said committee, who unanimously reached the conclusion holding Germany and her allies responsible for the origins of the war, were misinformed, and he asks them whether, in view of what he has pointed out in his article, they would still today endorse the report they signed in 1919 and upon which the winners of the war relied to admit that responsibility and to draw all the consequences therefrom.

"It is not my purpose to dispute the accuracy of Dr. von Wegerer's remark to the effect that the committee had not before them the whole of the diplomatic documents subsequently published. This is a matter of course, and would be important only if the documents published later on proved repugnant to the conclusions of the committee. The same can be said of Dr. von Wegerer's assertion alleging that *abridgements* have been made in certain documents, one of which is even stated to have been invented or *falsified*.

"Even admitting this to be the case, the fact remains that, as to the remainder, the Committee of 1919 had at their command *incontestable evidence* which was more than sufficient to substantiate their absolute and unanimous conviction concerning the responsibility of Germany and of her allies as to the origins of the war.

"Let us now consider more closely the part of the document alleged to be *falsified* as inserted in the French *Yellow Book* of 1914. The document referred to is a telegram from M. Paléologue, then French Ambassador at St. Petersburg. It seems that the latter had simply telegraphed, on July 31, that "the general mobilization of the Russian Army has been ordered," whereas the corresponding document (No. 118) appearing in the *Yellow Book* an-

nounces exactly the same fact, but adds some comment. I wish first to remark that the report of the committee does not in any way refer to said document. Moreover, I should like to ask in what way this alteration or this falsification, which, no doubt, is to be regretted if it exists at all, could influence the committee, which founded their conclusions on ascertained facts, and not on mere considerations drawn from documents.

"In order to show clearly that such was really the working method of the committee and that their unanimous opinion on the responsibility for the war was reached in this manner, I think I cannot do better than to reproduce below the part of the report relating more specially to the premeditation of the war by Germany, such as it showed itself at the time of the declaration of war by Austria against Serbia, which took place on the 28th of July, 1914, at noon, and up to the declaration of war by Germany against France, which took place on the 3d of August, 1914, and was followed within twenty-four hours by the violation of Belgium's guaranteed neutrality.

The reiterated suggestions of the Entente Powers with a view to finding a peaceful solution of the dispute only produced evasive replies on the part of Berlin or promises of intervention with the Government of Vienna without any effectual steps being taken.

On July 24 Russia and England asked that the Powers should be granted a reasonable delay in which to work in concert for the maintenance of peace. Germany did not join in this request.⁷

On July 25 Sir Edward Grey proposed mediation by four Powers (England, France, Italy and Germany). France⁸ and Italy⁹ immediately gave their concurrence. Germany¹⁰ refused, alleging that it was not a question of mediation by arbitration, whereas the Conference of the four Powers was called to make proposals, not to decide.

On July 26 Russia proposed to negotiate directly with Austria. Austria refused.¹¹

On July 27 England proposed an European Conference. Germany refused.¹²

On July 29 Sir Edward Grey asked the Wilhelmstrasse to be good enough to "suggest any method by which the influence of the four Powers could be used together to prevent a war between Austria and Russia."¹³ She was asked herself to say what

she desired.¹⁴ Her reply was evasive.¹⁵

On the same day, July 29, the Emperor Nicholas II despatched to the Emperor William II a telegram suggesting that the Austro-Serbian problem should be submitted to The Hague Tribunal. This suggestion received no reply. This important telegram does not appear in the German *White Book*. It was made public by the Petrograd *Official Gazette* (January, 1915).

The Bavarian Legation, in a report dated July 31, declared its conviction that the efforts of Sir Edward Grey to preserve peace would not hinder the march of events.¹

As early as July 21 German mobilization had begun by the recall of a certain number of classes of the reserve,² then of German officers in Switzerland³ and finally of the Metz garrison on July 25.⁴ On July 26 the German fleet was called back from Norway.⁵

The Entente did not relax its conciliatory efforts, but the German Government systematically brought all its attempts to nought. When Austria consented for the first time on July 31 to discuss the contents of the Serbian note with the Russian Government and the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador received orders to "converse" with the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs,⁶ Germany made any negotiations impossible by sending her ultimatum to Russia. Prince Lichnowsky wrote that "a hint from Berlin would have been enough to decide Count Berchtold to content himself with a diplomatic success and to declare that he was satisfied with the Serbian reply, but this hint was not given. On the contrary, they went forward toward war."⁷

On Aug. 1, the German Emperor addressed a telegram to the King of England⁸ containing the following sentence: "The troops on my frontier are, at this moment, being kept back by telegraphic and telephonic orders from crossing the French frontier."

Now, war was not declared till two days after that date, and as the German mobilization orders were issued on that same day, Aug. 1, it follows that, as a matter of fact, the German Army had been mobilized and concentrated in pursuance of previous orders.

The attitude of the Entente, nevertheless, remained still to the very end so conciliatory that, at the very time at which the German fleet was bombarding Libau, Nicholas II gave his word of honor to William II that Russia would not undertake any aggressive action during the pourparlers,⁹ and that when the German troops began their march across the French frontier M. Viviani telegraphed to all the French

¹⁴Blue Book, No. 111.

¹⁵Yellow Book, Nos. 97, 98 and 109.

¹Second report of Count Lerchenfeld, Bavarian Plenipotentiary at Berlin, published on the instructions of Kurt Eisner.

²Yellow Book, No. 15.

³July 23, Yellow Book, No. 60.

⁴Yellow Book, No. 106.

⁵Yellow Book, No. 58.

⁶Blue Book, No. 133; Red Book, No. 55.

⁷Lichnowsky Memoir, p. 41.

⁸White Book, Anlage 32; Yellow Book, Annex II, bis. No. 2.

⁹Telegram from Nicholas II to William II, Yellow Book, No. 6 Annex V.

⁷Russian Orange Book, No. 4; Yellow Book, No. 43.

⁸Yellow Book, No. 70.

⁹Yellow Book, No. 72; Blue Book, No. 49.

¹⁰Blue Book, No. 43.

¹¹Yellow Book, No. 54.

¹²Yellow Book, Nos. 63 and 73.

¹³Yellow Book, No. 97; Blue Book, No. 84.

Ambassadors, "we must not stop working for accommodation."

On Aug. 3, von Schoen went to the Quai d'Orsay with the declaration of war against France. Lacking a real cause of complaint, Germany alleged in her declaration of war that bombs had been dropped by French aeroplanes in various districts in Germany. This statement was entirely false. Moreover, it was either later admitted to be so,¹⁰ or no particulars were ever furnished by the German Government.

Moreover, in order to be manifestly above reproach, France was careful to withdraw her troops 10 kilometres from the German frontier. Notwithstanding this precaution, numerous officially established violations of French territory preceded the declaration of war.¹¹

The provocation was so flagrant that Italy, herself a member of the Triple Alliance, did not hesitate to declare that in view of the aggressive character of the war the *casus foederis* ceased to apply."¹²

"I have deemed it necessary to publish, together with this abstract from the report of the committee, all the *notes* indicating the sources of the committee's work, and I wonder whether there is any one among them the value of which could be *successfully* disputed by Dr. von Wegerer. For, apart from the indicated sources, the facts mentioned and alleged in the report of the committee are public; they are neither contested nor contestable; they are confirmed and suffice *per se* to establish the premeditation and consequently the responsibility of Germany. This being so, what does it matter if, since then, other diplomatic documents have been published either by Germany or by any other nation? Has Dr. von Wegerer found in them anything whatever of such a nature as to alter the committee's judgment concerning German premeditation?

"And does he contest the authenticity of the memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London at the time of the declaration of war? Does he think,

moreover, that the conclusions of the committee would have been different if this memorandum had not been published? And the same can be said of the report of Count Lerchenfeld, the Minister of Bavaria in Berlin, which is deemed to emanate from the Bavarian Chargé d'Affaires rather than from Count Lerchenfeld himself.

"What then remains of it all? The following facts: that after eight years from the day when the Committee on War Responsibility adopted their conclusions, in March, 1919, a certain number of documents, with which they were not acquainted, have been published; that other documents, examined by the committee apart from the official documents, would have merely a relative value, as, for instance, the Lichnowsky memorandum and the book of Dr. Muehlen; that even certain official documents are alleged to have undergone abridgements and that a document of the French *Yellow Book* is stated to be incorrect. But supposing all this to be true, does it give rise to *one single new fact* of such a nature as to alter the conclusions of the committee? Has any one ever contested or will any one ever be able to contest a single one of the facts quoted by the committee and the succession of which shows so clearly the will of the German Government to provoke war? This is the main point of the controversy and, in this connection, Dr. von Wegerer does not even attempt to shake either the value of the report of the Committee on Responsibility or the strength of its conclusions.

"And this is why now, as in 1919, and notwithstanding Dr. von Wegerer's remarks, I remain deeply convinced of the truth of the committee's conclusions, i. e., that 'the war was deliberately planned by the Central Powers' and that, 'in agreement with Austro-Hungary, Germany deliberately labored to set aside the numerous mediatory proposals of the Entente Powers and to frustrate their repeated attempts to prevent the war.'

"Such were in 1919 the conclusions of the Committee on Responsibility, and I notice that Dr. von Wegerer does not adduce any argument of such a nature as to shake in the least these conclusions, which were unanimously accepted by the delegates

¹⁰Statement of the Municipality of Nuremberg, dated April 3, 1916.

¹¹Patrols of various strengths crossed the French frontier at fifteen points, one on July 30 at Xures, eight on Aug. 2, and the others on Aug. 3, before war was declared. The French troops lost one killed and several wounded. The enemy left on French territory four killed, one of whom was an officer, and seven prisoners. At Suarce, on Aug. 2, the enemy carried off nine inhabitants, twenty-five horses and thirteen carriages. Four incursions by German dirigibles took place between July 25 and Aug. 1. Finally, German aeroplanes flew over Lunéville on Aug. 3, before the declaration of war, and dropped six bombs. (*Yellow Book*, Nos. 106, 136, 139, &c.).

¹²*Yellow Book*, No. 124.

of the Allied and Associated Powers, including the delegates of the United States of America.

"May I venture to note in this respect that the delegates of the United States (the Honorable Robert Lansing and Mr. James Brown Scott) and, likewise, the delegates of Japan (Messrs. Adatei and Tachi) made some reservations with regard to other parts of the report of the committee, more particularly concerning the constitution of a High Court appointed to judge the guilty parties. But, as to the very question of the responsibility of the German Government, the delegates of the United States, as also those of Japan, made an explicit declaration, without any reservation whatsoever, in accordance with the conclusions of the committee. The special note of the delegates of the United States, dated April 4, 1919, formulating reservations concerning the High Court, even supplies, as regards the responsibility of the Central Powers, several supplementary documents which Dr. von Wegerer does not even attempt to contest.

"In conclusion, I declare, in reply to the question which has been put to me, as well as to the other members of the committee, that my conviction remains unaltered as to the responsibility of Germany. This conviction does not, however, prevent me from remaining, after this terrible war, as well as I was before, today, as formerly, wholly attached to the cause of the restoration and maintenance of peaceful relations between the nations.

"BARON ROLIN JAEQUEMYS."

5—KONSTANTY SKIRMUNT—*Poland*:

"Polish Legation,

"47, Portland Place,

"London, W. 1, Dec. 28, 1927.

"I WISH to thank you very much indeed for sending me the proof sheets of the article on the responsibility for the World War by Alfred von Wegerer, which I read with great interest.

"While I appreciate very much the hospitality of your columns which you kindly offer to me in order that I may comment on the allegations contained in the above-mentioned article, I wish to say that I have not taken a sufficiently active part in the

work of the Committee on War Responsibility and Sanctions to be able to enter into the matter.

"However, as far as the question of war responsibility is concerned, I do not think the above-mentioned article is at all convincing. Moreover, I feel that even if the basis upon which the Versailles verdict on responsibility for the World War was pronounced was not quite complete at the time, all documents and disclosures subsequently published confirm the inherent soundness of that verdict. SKIRMUNT."

6—LEON LUBIENSKI—*Poland*:

"I WISH first of all to acknowledge with many thanks receipt of your letter of Dec. 14, 1927, and of the proof sheets of Dr. Alfred von Wegerer's article concerning the responsibility for the World War. Let me also thank you for kindly proposing that I should be among those who should give a reply in your columns to Dr. von Wegerer's statements on this subject. It is, however, in my opinion today the work rather of the historians of the Great War, who can dispose of all the supplementary materials published since 1920 to prove and decide whether the basis of the Versailles verdict on the responsibility for the World War is well founded.

"My personal impression would be that subsequently published documents have confirmed the arguments on which our committee based its decisions. As I said, however, I consider it rather the work of a historian disposing of all the necessary publications to give a detailed reply. The work of Dr. von Wegerer certainly gives an altogether biased light to the question, and its tone inclines one to think that it is rather a propaganda article than a serious historical study. LEON LUBIENSKI."

7—SLOBODAN YOVANOVITCH—*Yugoslavia*:

"IN Dr. von Wegerer's article I have noted the following passage: 'It would be exceedingly valuable if this hitherto undivulged memorandum of the Serbian delegation could be published and made accessible to scientific criticism.' I consider it my duty to place the memorandum in question at the disposition of your magazine.

"SLOBODAN YOVANOVITCH."

[Editorial Note—The text of the Serbian memorandum will be found at the end of this symposium.]

III—The German Charges Answered

By PRESTON SLOSSON

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DR. ALFRED VON WEGERER seems to argue as follows: (1) the Treaty of Versailles rests on the verdict of war guilt rendered against Germany; (2) this verdict was reached on the basis of certain diplomatic documents published before or during the war; (3) these documents were so incomplete as to be totally misleading; (4) subsequent revelations exculpate Germany from any major share in war responsibility. The third argument is partly true, though exaggerated. The other three are false from beginning to end.

The Treaty of Versailles does not rest on the guilt of Germany but on the defeat of Germany. A victorious Power (or Coalition) imposes such terms as it thinks right, whether it was attacker or attacked. Article 231, indeed, mentions, incidentally and parenthetically, that the war was imposed on the Allied and Associated Powers by Germany and her allies, but the substance of the article is that Germany must pay for "loss and damage." Does any one suppose that there would have been no bill for damages done to civilian life and property during the German invasion of France if the Allies had been victorious, but had been unable to prove that Germany started the war?

FACTS ALREADY KNOWN

The opinion held by Entente statesmen in 1919 that Germany and her allies started the Great War was based only to a minor degree on documents which their own foreign offices had chosen to publish. The publication was for the information of the general public, and to influence neutral opinion. The diplomats knew by direct contact most of the facts "behind the scenes" and made up their minds on the basis of their own experience with German and Austro-Hungarian diplomacy. They took into account, moreover, not only the incidents of 1914, but the whole trend of events that led up to the crisis.

Dr. Alfred von Wegerer most astonishingly forgets that *after* the terms of peace

were first submitted to Germany the German Government (which as a post-revolutionary Government had both the power and the disposition to publish all the secrets in the official archives not revealed in the original German *White Book*) communicated to the Entente Allies everything which could tend to show the German policy of 1914 in a better light (see *Reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the Observations of the German Delegation on the Condition of Peace*; published as Pamphlet 144 by the American Association for International Conciliation, and available in many other editions). In this *Reply* the diplomats of the Allied and Associated Powers restated the German case as follows:

The German delegation have submitted a lengthy memorandum in regard to the responsibility of Germany for the initiation of the war. The burden of the argument in this document is that at the very last moment of the crisis the German Government endeavored to induce moderation on the part of an ally to whom she had previously given complete liberty of action, and that it was the mobilization of the Russian Army which finally made inevitable the outbreak of the general war.

Could Dr. Wegerer's own conclusion be better phrased? But the *Reply* rebuts this argument at length (Part VII, Section 1 of the *Reply*) and endorses "the words of the German memorandum itself: 'The real mistakes of German policy lay much further back.'" The Treaty of Versailles, revised in several important respects, but *not* changed as regards the war blame implied by Article 231, was then presented to Germany for signature. So even if we grant that the original Committee on War Responsibility was inadequately informed, the same excuse cannot serve for the responsible chiefs of the Peace Conference. They erred (if they *did* err) in full light of all the facts that Germany could lay before them.

REVELATIONS NOT NEW

One might add that the most damaging revelations of the pre-war Entente diplomacy were available at an even earlier

date, in fact ever since the Russian Soviet Government gave to the press secret documents from the Russian archives. Some new facts have doubtless been ascertained since the Summer of 1919, from the opening of the British archives to scholars, from personal memoirs of diplomats and from critical comments of historians on the inadequacies of the French and the (pre-revolutionary) Russian documents. But all the big cats were out of their bags as soon as revolution had opened the archives of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary. Dr. Wegerer's "revelations" have been discussed for months, in most cases for years, by scholars of all countries. There is nothing in them new to a general student of modern history like myself, and still less new to specialists in the field such as Sidney B. Fay, Bernadotte Schmitt and many others.

MAIN PROBLEM UNTOUCHED

A verdict which would have been just on the evidence as known in 1919 could be unjust only in small points of detail on the basis of more recent evidence. We learn from the new evidence what we knew already in 1919 and more than suspected in 1914, that France was determined to support Russia if war broke out, that Russia (probably) started mobilization before Germany, and that high military officials in Serbia were involved in the Sarajevo plot. All this may soften the indictment against the Central Powers, but it does not touch the heart of the war responsibility problem.

Germany's real responsibility is three-fold and no evidence that has yet been produced annuls it:

1—Germany for a decade or so before the war had been a "bad neighbor," truculent and indisposed to conciliatory methods. There needs no great evidence to prove this fact, which was a commonplace of discussion in diplomatic circles from the days of Holstein and the Kruger telegram, on through the secret plot of Björkö and the clamorous Morocco incidents, to the events of 1914. Nothing but a great common fear could possibly have welded Powers so mutually hostile as Britain, France and Russia into a close Entente. The atmosphere of suspicion and bad feeling which caused all the Powers to "jump for their guns" in 1914 was due primarily to the erratic and restless

foreign policy of the German Empire. This is not to say that Germany planned any general war; there is no proof or probability of that. But the atmosphere became more electric each time the Kaiser shook the sword, even as a gesture.

2—The famous "blank check" to Austria-Hungary in July, 1914, estopped Germany from effectually restraining her Ally, bent on a local war with Serbia, though it is much to Germany's credit that in private Germany advised caution.

3—Germany's precipitate declarations of war against Russia and France, on the rumor of Russian mobilization, cut short the possibility of an eventual peaceful solution. Yet mobilization does not always lead to war, and Foreign Secretary Grey's note (Number 132, cited by Dr. Wegerer in his article as proof of the perfidy of the Entente) held out the hope "that if Russia mobilized against Austria the German Government . . . should ask Austria to consider some modification of her demands." This "was not an easy thing for Germany to do" for reasons of prestige and military risks, but it would have been possible and would have averted the war. On her own showing, Germany went to war on a point of pride, to answer Russia's threat by a blow, instead of accepting the British proposal for an international conference on the whole Serbian situation, a step which would at once have forced Russian demobilization by removing the last pretext for such action.

JAGOW'S DEFENSE

The best defense of Germany's action that Foreign Minister Jagow was able to bring forward (in his comments on the Lichnowsky Memorandum) was that "A fresh diminution of our prestige was not endurable for our position in Europe and the world." Such an argument for the defense is almost equivalent to a plea of "Guilty, but with extenuating circumstances." The tribunal of history may very probably acquit Germany of the major guilt of desiring a general war, but I cannot see how it can ever acquit Germany of having assumed the responsibility of a war that might have been avoided at any date to Aug. 1 by accepting the British proposal for a peaceful settlement.

IV—Text of the Serbian Memorandum

In view of the importance of the memorandum of the Serbian delegation filed by it while participating on the first subcommittee on War Responsibility—an importance stressed by Dr. von Wegerer in the article which leads this symposium—the full text of this document, hitherto unpublished, is given herewith in translation from the French original, which was sent to the editor through the courtesy of M. Slobodan Yovanovitch.

The introduction sets forth that the memorandum embodies "a summary of the criminal acts which brought about the World War," which followed its outbreak and which were committed "during the hostilities against Serbia by the authorities and armies of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Bulgaria." Under the first section are given "the facts characterizing the crime and the responsibility of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria."—EDITOR OF CURRENT HISTORY.

THE CRISIS OF 1914

IT was Austria-Hungary who declared war on Serbia, on July 28, 1914, thus bringing about a general war.

The assassination of the Archduke, heir to the throne of Austria, took place on June 28, 1914. This event, which was to be the pretext for the war, did not at first, however, lead to any diplomatic tension. The official circles of Vienna, by their attitude and language, did not give any ground for foreseeing serious complications, thus striving to lead public opinion in Europe astray with regard to the real intentions of the Central Powers.

ATTITUDE OF SERBIA AND OF THE ENTENTE

The whole action of official Serbia after the assassination of the Archduke, heir to the throne of Austria, was directed toward peace.

In the period extending from the assassination (June 28, 1914) to the Austrian ultimatum (July 23, 1914), the Serbian Government reproved in the clearest way "the mad undertaking of a visionary young fanatic," and decided to oppose the tendency shown by the Austrian press to place "the heavy responsibility of the crime of an Austrian subject upon Serbia and the whole Serbian people." (*Serbian Blue Book*, No. 8.) With the desire of avoiding all blame and of making every conflict impossible, the Belgrade Cabinet spontaneously declared to the Vienna Cabinet: "Similarly we will accept the demands of Austria-Hungary, in case she asks that certain accomplices now in Serbia, if there are any, of course, shall be brought before our independent courts for trial." (*Serbian Blue Book*, No. 3.)

To all these steps, inspired by an ardent desire of peace, the Austro-Hungarian Government replied by an ultimatum addressed to Serbia on July 23, 1914, leaving her only a time limit of forty-eight hours to reply.

The Serbian Government, even before the expiration of the time given, satisfied the demands of Austria to the utmost limits compatible with the sovereignty of a free and independent State. At the same time, to preserve peace, menaced by these events,

the Belgrade Cabinet, on reception of the Austrian note, turned to Great Britain and Russia, asking their aid and intervention to induce the Austrian Government to "modify its demands." (*Serbian Blue Book*, No. 35.)

After the rupture of diplomatic relations between Austria and Serbia, a rupture provoked by Austria, the very day when the Serbian reply was delivered, on July 25, 1914, the Entente Powers made divers attempts and suggestions to avoid a general war (mediation, mediation by four Powers, direct conversations, arbitration), even accepting the idea that Austria should be given military satisfaction. These efforts led to no result, Austria having long before decided to provoke a war with Serbia.

ATTITUDE OF AUSTRIA

Before the ultimatum of July 23, 1914, Serbia had already received from Austria in 1906 an economic ultimatum, followed by the declaration of a customs war. The preliminary acts of Austria then passed through the following stages:

After the annexation of the two Serbian Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on Oct. 5, 1908, which was a real violation of the Treaty of Berlin by Austria, the Serbian Government, in a note to the Powers signatory to this treaty, expressed the hope that they "would answer the appeal which it was addressing to them demanding justice and protection" by endeavoring to enlighten the European Cabinets on the dangers being incurred by Europe.

Austria-Hungary considered that the Bosnia-Herzegovina question concerned her alone, and would not admit Serbia's right to appeal to the Governments of Europe. A démarche was made on March 5, 1909, by Count Forgach, Minister of Austria-Hungary at Belgrade, who insisted that Serbia should formally renounce all her political and territorial claims to Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the contrary case, he added, under the form of an ultimatum, his Government would not renew the Austro-Serbian commercial treaty which would expire on March 31, 1909. Regarding this conflict M. de Pourtales, the German Ambassador to Petrograd, had announced on March 24, 1909, to

M. Izvolski, the Russian Foreign Minister, that "Germany would faithfully conform to her duty as an ally" in case of a rupture between that Power and Austria.

Faced by this provocative attitude, to prevent a general conflagration Serbia, by a note of March 31, 1909, "pledges herself from now on, to abandon the attitude of protest and opposition which it has hitherto maintained toward the annexation." Already at this time the paper, *Danzer's Armenzeitung*, organ of the Austrian Staff, expressed itself as follows: "The moment has come. War is inevitable. We shall be forced to wage it . . . No other alternative is left us than to have recourse to the *ultima ratio* of peoples, on the first favorable pretext. . . Compelled by circumstances, we shall also extend our arm over Serbia. . . But we cannot establish ourselves at the Macedonian frontier until after the disappearance of Serbia and Montenegro."

Already at the beginning of the Balkan War, discounting Serbia's defeat, Austria was preparing to intervene. General Conrad von Hötzendorff, Chief of the Austrian Staff, declared that "the only means of saving Austria would be to attack immediately and fiercely both Serbia and Russia." (Henry Wickham Steed, *England and the War*, p. 11.) In his address on Dec. 5, 1914, before the Italian Chamber, Signor Giolitti declared that Austria-Hungary on April 9, 1913, during the Balkan War, had informed Italy and Germany of "her intention of acting against Serbia," demanding that she be supported in this attack by her allies.

We shall now tell how Austria acted during the crisis of 1914. On July 5 there took place at Potsdam "a decisive council . . . at which the question asked by the Vienna Government received the absolutely favorable reply of all influential personalities, and at which it was even added that it would not be a bad thing if the conflict ended in war with Russia." (Lichnowsky *Memorandum*.) The reports of Count Lerchenfeld have shown us that from July 18, 1914, on, the ultimatum to Serbia was decided on, and that measures were taken to conceal this decision.

After the Austrian ultimatum, it was Sir Edward Grey who first asked, in a conversation with Count Mensdorff, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, for an extension of the time limit, so very brief, granted to Serbia for her reply (British *Correspondence*, No. 5). France did not understand why Austria should refuse to lend herself to the conversations (French *Yellow Book*, No. 28). M. Sazonov, the day following the ultimatum, addressed to Vienna and transmitted to all the Chancelleries a note in which he insists that it is "indispensable, above all, that the time limit given to Serbia in which to reply should be extended." (Russian *Orange Book*, No. 4.) This note was supported by Sir Edward Grey (British *Correspondence*, No. 10) and by the French Government (French *Yellow Book*, No. 39).

Germany, asked also to support the plea for an extension of time, replied that "these steps were too late" (French *Yellow Book*, No. 43), and Count Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, categorically refused: "We cannot grant any extension of time." (Russian *Orange Book*, No. 11.)

This attempt at conciliation failed because

of the uncompromising attitude of Austria. That she desired the war and that she pushed on toward it at every cost, is shown clearly by the dispatch of July 24 from M. Dumaine, French Ambassador to Vienna: "The military party seems to fear above all that Serbia will give way" (Yellow *Book*, No. 27), and that from the Belgian Minister at Vienna, of July 25: "It seems that such harsh conditions have been laid down only because it was hoped that they would be refused, because it was desired 'to finish once and for all with Serbia.'" (Second Belgian *Gray Book*, No. 5.) In conclusion, let us quote the despatch of July 26 from the British Ambassador at Vienna: "The Austro-Hungarian note was drafted in such a manner as to make war inevitable, as the Austro-Hungarian Government is absolutely resolved to make war on Serbia" (British *Correspondence*, No. 4).

The resolution taken by Austria to attack Serbia was so unshakable that whatever the Serbian Government's reply might have been, she [Austria] would have declared war upon that Government in any case. As a matter of fact, all the Entente Powers considered that reply as wholly satisfactory. M. Sazonov said: "The Serbian reply exceeds all our anticipations by its moderation and its aim to give the most complete satisfaction to Austria" (Russian *Orange Book*, No. 33); the Governments of France (French *Yellow Book*, No. 56), of Great Britain (British *Correspondence*, No. 46), of Italy (British *Correspondence*, No. 48), all expressed themselves to the same effect.

But, as Austria had been long decided on finishing with Serbia, she would not consider any advice or suggestions tending toward the preservation of peace, and to prevent every pacific solution, the Vienna Government, on July 28, hastened to declare a state of war against Serbia.

At Vienna, however, they knew that the conflict could not be localized, the Russian Ambassador having clearly and categorically voiced the view of his Government to the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs the day before this date [July 27]: "If war should break out with Serbia, it would be impossible to limit it, for Russia could not yield again as she had yielded in the past, and notably in the crisis provoked by the annexation of 1909" (British *Correspondence*, No. 56).

Thus having prepared and premeditated her aggression against Serbia, Austria at the same time and deliberately, unchained a general war.

BULGARIA'S PART IN THE CRISIS

Bulgaria declared war on Oct. 14, 1915, on Serbia, who, since July 28, 1914, had been at war with Austria and who, since Oct. 6, 1914, had been attacked on the battlefield by a great Austro-German army.

No act of provocation was committed by Serbia against Bulgaria. During the negotiations conducted during the European war between the Entente Powers and Bulgaria, Serbia set forth no claim and was even ready to comply with her allies' wish to make certain territorial concessions, on condition that Bulgaria should align herself on the Entente side.

OBJECTS OF BULGARIA

Bulgaria had already attacked Serbia be-

fore; this was on June 30, 1913, during the Balkan War, her object being to avoid the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia, an arbitration provided for by the treaty of alliance of 1912 between Serbia and Bulgaria.

According to the reports of Count Lerch-enfeld, cited in the brief French note, Bulgaria had begun negotiations with the Central Powers for her entrance into the war on the side of those Powers as early as July 18, 1914, that is, even before the Austrian ultimatum was addressed to Serbia.

On Nov. 20, 1915, the *Journal de Genève* published an interview with M. Radoslavoff, then President of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers [Premier]—an interview not subsequently repudiated—in which he declared that, according to an Austro-Bulgarian agreement concluded long before, Austria-Hungary should retain Northern Serbia with Belgrade and the two banks of the Morava River, while Bulgaria should annex Eastern Serbia with a large part of Macedonia.

In April, 1915, in the very midst of the European War, the Bulgarians carried out an armed attack on Serbia, near Valandovo and Strumitza, where a real battle was fought on Serbian territory. Defeated in this attack they withdrew, subsequently asserting that this action was the work of *comitadjis* [irregular armed bands]. An international commission made up of Entente representatives demonstrated by identification of the dead and those taken prisoners, that officers and soldiers of the regular troops participated in the attack.

On Sept. 3, 1915, Prince Jean-Albert of Mecklenburg, envoy of Emperor William II, installed himself in the Foreign Ministry at Sofia and had numerous conferences with King Ferdinand and the Bulgarian Ministers. The details of the treaty between Bulgaria and the Central Powers were then fixed, as is proved by a cipher dispatch from William II to the King of Bulgaria on Sept. 20, 1915, now in the possession of the Serbian Government and which read as follows:

"I have just seen the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, who has laid before me his very interesting report on his stay with you. I seize this opportunity to inform you that I realize all the difficulties and dangers that have threatened the conclusion of our negotiations. It is thanks to your personal efforts, as well as to your energy and foresight that our alliance has been concluded—an alliance which I welcome with all my heart and which, after a victorious struggle, will bring rich blessings to our respective countries."

Immediately after the conclusion of this alliance began the manoeuvres of the Bulgarian Army along the Serbian frontier, and on Sept. 23 general mobilization was decreed. All regiments were sent to the Serbian frontier.

The Bulgarian Government explained the mobilization by its desire to reinforce its

neutrality, which, however, was menaced by no one, especially as the negotiations with the Entente had already begun and were well on their way to conclusion. To lead public opinion astray, the Bulgarian Government charged M. Malinoff, head of the Democratic Party and former Premier, to push the negotiations. The Bulgarian press even published semi-official communiqués on the supposed trend of M. Malinoff's conversations with the Entente.

But once the mobilization and concentration of the army were completed, and the Bulgarian troops massed along the Serbian frontier, the Bulgarian Government repudiated M. Malinoff publicly and categorically, saying that he was in no way qualified to commit Bulgaria to any agreements and that he deserved "to feel the severity of the laws of the Kingdom" because of his conduct on this occasion.

The convention with Turkey, which guaranteed to Bulgaria complete security in that direction, was then signed.

A few days later the Austro-German troops crossed the Danube and began the invasion of Serbia. As soon as the Serbian troops began to retreat the Bulgarians, under the completely false pretext that the Serbs had violated their frontiers, began their own attack which was to lead to the total subjugation of Serbia.

That this pretext was invented is proved beyond all refutation by two documents in possession of the Serbian Government, viz.:

1—A cipher dispatch sent by Count Tarnowsky, Austro-Hungarian Minister at Sofia to the Vienna Foreign Ministry, and reading as follows: "On Oct. 10, 1915, the Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry at Sofia made me the following communication: 'In order to remove from the attack on Serbia any appearance of having been deliberately engineered, we shall provoke this evening or tomorrow morning a frontier incident in a non-inhabited region.'"

2—A cipher dispatch signed by Count Tarnowsky, Austro-Hungarian Minister, and sent to the Vienna Foreign Ministry under date Oct. 12, 1915: "The Chief of Staff informs me that the desired incident on the Serbian frontier was arranged yesterday. This incident will be represented as a Serbian provocation and will greatly facilitate the task of the King of Greece when the *casus foederis* is invoked."

The first Bulgarian attack was actually carried out on Oct. 12, 1915, and preceded by two days the declaration of war on Serbia, on Oct. 14, 1915; but this did not prevent the Bulgarians from declaring that it was the Serbs who first crossed their frontier.

From the sequence of facts revealed above, we see clearly that Bulgaria had long premeditated the war against Serbia and had prepared the setting for it with incomparable astuteness.



Psychiatry and Crime

BY WATSON DAVIS,

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CRIME and disease cause so much grief, waste and suffering in the world that every step toward their alleviation should be received with acclamation. But the world is often blind. For physical hurts it welcomes the surgeon's sharp knife or the ill-tasting pill. For broken legs ambulance bells clang. For broken minds and twisted characters there is little cure and no prophylaxis. The public does not truly believe in the evil power of mind over actions; it is only beginning to be acclimated to scientific medicine for its physical body. The gigantic problem of human behavior is the concern of the psychiatrist. Not all of us need his attention. Institutions for the mentally diseased are brought to mind by the word "psychiatry." Because there are so many who are slightly, incipiently, mentally queer, the specialist in psychiatry is coming to play a more important part in the ordinary policing of human behavior that has heretofore been the concern of policeman, Judge and lawyer.

When the American Psychiatric Association met at Minneapolis a committee reported that the horrible Hickman murder of last Winter could have been prevented. The report declared: "Had Hickman been examined after his earlier crimes, had he been given an examination when he was arrested for forgery, he would almost certainly have been found to be possessed of psychopathological indications to an extent indicating confinement and observation. In this way the spectacular murder, which made him infamous, would have been prevented."

Of importance to every parent whose own child may be the victim of such future crimes is the following statement by the committee: "It is a curious paradox that psychiatrists who are desirous of preventing crime by examining the personality make-up of offenders are not called at the time when the premonitory symptoms of social maladjustment are exhibited but only after the extreme, violent, irretrievable explo-

sions have occurred. Your committee feels that it might be helpful in making clear the attitude of psychiatrists if we pointed out that it is our wish and proposal that we be called not merely when the major crimes have been committed but when minor crimes have been committed, in order that major crimes may be anticipated and provisions made to prevent their occurrence." The introduction of the question of insanity at the Hickman trial by the defense lawyers was termed by the committee report an "unfortunate and regrettable fiasco," which "retarded the cause of psychiatry in the courts."

What appears to be an extraordinary miscarriage of justice was cited by the committee as evidence of the necessity of submitting witnesses as well as accused to mental examination. George Watters, an obscure and penniless negro of Sacramento, Cal., was convicted of murdering his wife and sentenced to be hanged, chiefly upon the testimony of his 9-year-old daughter. Only a few hours before the time for the execution the Governor commuted his sentence to life imprisonment because of new evidence secured and presented by a psychiatrist, Dr. Anita M. Muhl. It was revealed that no body was ever found and that the supposed deceased wife had been seen after the supposed crime walking on the streets of Los Angeles. Even more important was Dr. Muhl's observation that the negro's daughter was a hysterical and hypersuggestible individual whose testimony was self-contradictory and altogether unreliable.

Three Ohio murder cases were listed by the committee, of which Dr. Karl A. Menninger of Topeka, Kan., is Chairman, as illustrating the need of more psychiatry in the courts.

George Remus, accused wife murderer, although pronounced sane by a commission of psychiatrists, was declared insane by a jury. He has since been released from an Ohio hospital where he was detained.

Charles Lewis of Columbus, Ohio, a confessed murderer, although declared sane by a commission of experts, was later judged not guilty because of insanity. The Velma West case, the committee report stated, concerns a murder in which an inferred homosexual relationship was implied to have moved the court to special consideration of the mental factors in the crime and the accused was allowed to plead guilty to a second degree murder charge.

Only one out of ten courts has a psychiatrist attached to its staff, but four out of ten courts make it a habit to refer suspected cases to private physicians for mental examination before trial. One-third of the public penal institutions of the country employ psychiatrists, a similar proportion employ psychologists, and half of them refer suspected prisoners to experts. Encouraging testimony of the growing acceptance of the psychiatric attitude toward crime is contained in recent recommendations of the National Crime Commission.

Psychiatrists applaud the attitude of the lawyers and other leaders in crime control who recommend that every person charged with a crime be studied by impartial experts cooperating with the courts. Psychiatrists consider court duels between members of their profession deplorable and ineffective. When a lay jury delivers summary punishment to a criminal or liberates a dangerous character, neither the criminal nor society is done justice. In past years the American Psychiatric Association has urged the nation-wide adoption of laws such as are now in force in Massachusetts and Colorado. In those States the psychiatrist studies and reports on the accused before the trial, the jury passes on the facts of the crime, not the criminal, and the court renders its verdict of preventive rather than vindictive justice. Reform of the criminal code along these lines is urged by the National Crime Commission.

The new psychiatry reaches far beyond the asylum, jail or courtroom. The experience and technique of the mental expert can be applied with success to the irascible employe, the retarded school child, the persistent petty thief, the compulsive drinker and the multitude of other unhappy individuals who do not find themselves in step with society. Eventually it will not be nec-

essary for the community to wait until crimes of certain sorts are committed before detecting the potential criminal. Experience and tests will allow the person with criminal tendencies to be spotted in early life at a time when his destructive tendencies can be corrected or curbed.

The retarded or mentally defective child who has such a hard time in school has three times as many brothers and sisters as the brilliant, gifted child. Three times out of four, the defective child has a foreign-born mother. For the first time in the history of this country definite information on the origin and cause of the mentally defective has been gathered as the result of thorough examination of over 10,000 Massachusetts retarded school children by Dr. Neil A. Dayton of that State's Health Department. The feeble-minded do not tend to be the first child of the family. This finding will allow the eldest of the family to heave a sigh of relief. The feeble-minded do not tend to be the last child of the family. The baby of the family will be glad to know this. But another current idea, that mental deficiency travels the same road as largeness of family, was substantiated by Dr. Dayton's studies. He found the average size of families which contained the dunces of the Massachusetts public school to be three times the size of families in which gifted children appeared. Argument for restriction of immigration is contained in Dr. Dayton's observation that, whereas less than half of the mothers in the towns surveyed were foreign-born, three-quarters of the mentally defective children were born of mothers not native to the United States.

In Massachusetts the child who cannot keep up with its class is not shoved over in the corner with a conical cap on its head. In fact, such treatment of retarded children has become exceedingly bad practice in practically all enlightened schools. In Massachusetts when a child is so retarded that it loses three grades it is compulsory by law that it be given a rigorous psychiatric examination. In the last thirteen years over 30,000 children have been examined in this way, and now fifteen traveling school clinics under Dr. Dayton's direction are testing 5,000 children a year. From the records thus obtained Dr. Dayton now has

the first opportunity in medical history to study the cause and peculiarity of the conditions that give rise to the mentally defective who are so often a burden to themselves and society.

NEW THEORY OF HABIT FORMATION

One of the most important papers read before the recent annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Nashville, presented a new theory of how habits are formed and how they may be cured. Dr. Knight Dunlap, Professor of Psychology at Johns Hopkins University, advanced the idea that bad habits, such as stammering, biting finger nails or using a slang phrase can be overcome by voluntarily doing the undesirable thing.

This method is somewhat reminiscent of the experience that every mother has had with her children. Sometimes a mother tells a child not to do a certain thing, but the child disobeys, for the forbidden is often desirable. On the other hand, if mother indicates to the child that she is not particularly concerned whether or not he does what she does not wish him to do sometimes he will not do it. The psychologist first tried the habit cure on himself. To break up the habit of writing "hte" on the typewriter for "the," he set to work deliberately and wrote half a page, single spaced, of the "hte" combination, with the thought in mind that this was a "word" that he would not write in the future, unless it was done deliberately. About a week later he put in a second practice period, writing about one-third of a page. Subsequently, in a period of three months, the error of typing has not occurred, even once. The theory is being tested with stammerers in a public school with favorable results. In the case of stammerers the vital point is to study the specific type of stammering and then induce the patient to reproduce voluntarily his characteristic verbal performance, criticizing and assisting him until his voluntary stammering is as nearly as possible like his involuntary. From that point on the technique is complicated, and it is not expected that it will be perfected until many cases have been experimentally subjected to it. Thumb-

sucking and similar wrong habits of two and three year-old children have been treated at the Child Institute of Johns Hopkins University with results that show the method is useful even at such early ages. In all cases patients have been selected who desired to cure the bad habit for one reason or another and have been carefully instructed that the voluntary performance under the experimenter's control would assist in abolishing the undesirable behavior at other times. Dr. Dunlap's theory is in opposition to the generally accepted theory that repeating an act tends to fix it as a habit. He believes that repetition in itself is important only because it brings into play other factors which establish the habit. In experiments so far conducted it has been assumed that attention, expectation and desire are among the important factors in making and breaking habits.

EXTINGUISHING OIL FIRES

Every one knows or should know that water will not extinguish a gasoline fire, but two young chemists from Dayton, Ohio; Charles Allen Thomas and Carroll H. Hochwalt, have demonstrated that a dash of water containing the proper chemicals would put out a blazing fire of gasoline. The secret of their success is the solution in the water of a common salt of potassium. This new method of extinguishing oil fires is called a "catalytic effect" by the discoverers. Hitherto fire extinguishers have been based upon two well known principles, either smothering the fire by shutting out the oxygen of the air as by the use of carbon tetrachloride or cooling the combustible below the kindling temperature as by water. But the effect of this new form of fire extinguisher appears to depend upon the chemical composition of the salt dissolved in the water. The most efficient substances were found to be salts of the alkali metals, not merely potassium but still more the rare elements, rubidium and caesium. Salts containing an abundance of oxygen proved most effective. It is surprising to find chief among these chemical fire extinguishers potassium nitrate, which is an ingredient of gunpowder, and potassium chlorate which is employed in explosives.

Aerial Events of the Month

Miss Earhart's Transatlantic Flight—New Records Established— From Italy to Brazil—Attempts to Rescue Nobile and His Crew

THE most important happenings in aviation during the past month have been the transatlantic flight of Miss Amelia Earhart from Trepassy, Newfoundland, to the coast of Wales, the first successful flight across the ocean made by a woman; the efforts in the Arctic regions to rescue the crew of the Italia, General Nobile's dirigible, which was wrecked on May 25 off the coast of Spitsbergen; the flight of the Italian aviators, Ferrarin and Delprete, from Italy to Brazil, which established a new record for distance, and the breaking of the duration record of these two airmen by the German fliers, Risticz and Zimmerman.

MISS EARTHART'S FLIGHT

Without any fanfare of preliminary publicity, Amelia Earhart hopped off from Boston Harbor on June 3 for Newfoundland with Wilmer Stultz, pilot and radio operator, and Louis E. ("Slim") Gordon, mechanic, in the tri-motored Fokker monoplane Friendship, on the first leg of their transatlantic flight. She had previously consulted Commander Richard E. Byrd, and with his help made her plans. It has long been Commander Byrd's belief that transoceanic flights should be made in multiple-engined seaplanes. For his intended flight to the Antarctic regions he had had a Fokker monoplane, the Friendship, constructed according to these specifications, and he offered it to Miss Earhart. This was the airplane in which Miss Earhart made her flight.

After the flight to Trepassey came a fourteen-day wait for propitious weather conditions. During this time the Friendship made a dozen attempts to start, but its weight was too great. Finally it was decided to take along only sufficient fuel for the trip, with a small margin for safety—700 gallons in all—and on June 17 the Friendship took off from Trepassey with Valentia, Ireland, as its destination. One hour out, off the coast of Newfoundland,

the plane ran into cloud banks which did not lift until it approached its destination. In the plane Stultz and Gordon took turns at the controls and the radio, while Miss Earhart, crouching close to the fuselage, jotted down in a notebook everything that occurred to her—radio reports from passing steamers, impressions of the billowy fog about them and variations on the instrument board. Wind, rain and snow assailed the plane, but "flying blind," the crew was guided by its magnetic compass and the turn-and-bank indicator with its earth inductor compass. Flying sometimes at a height of 500 feet, and sometimes at 11,000 feet, at an average speed of 112 miles per hour, the Friendship, after 20 hours and 40 minutes, reached the coast of Wales. In the fog Stultz had flown far beyond the original destination and now brought the plane down after 2,000 miles of flying just off Burry Port, Carmarthenshire, Wales.

ITALY-BRAZIL FLIGHT

The distance non-stop record of 3,911 miles, held for a year by the Americans Chamberlin and Levine was broken on July 5, when the Italian fliers, Captain Arturi Ferrarin and Major Carlo D. Delprete, completed their non-stop flight from Rome to Brazil. These fliers on June 2 had set the world's duration record for sustained flying at 58½ hours, taking the record from Germany. Their flight to South America was made in the same plane, the Savoia-64.

On July 4 the Italian aviators started from Montecelio Field, near Rome, with Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, as their destination. They flew south over the Mediterranean and along the African coast line until they reached Villa Cisneros, Rio de Oro, where they turned abruptly seaward to cross the South Atlantic. No radio reports were received from the plane, but steamers at intervals sighted the Savoia and sent word of its position. Near the coast of Brazil the plane ran into a storm and cloud banks.

The resulting poor visibility set the fliers off their course, so that, instead of reaching their destination, they came down at Point Genipabu, ten miles north of Natal, Brazil, establishing the new non-stop distance record at 4,475 miles. In landing slight damage to the chassis of the plane caused a short delay before the Italians were ready to hop off to the reception awaiting them at Rio de Janeiro.

The German aviators, Risticz and Zimmerman, established a new duration record on July 7 by flying continuously for 65 hours and 31 minutes.

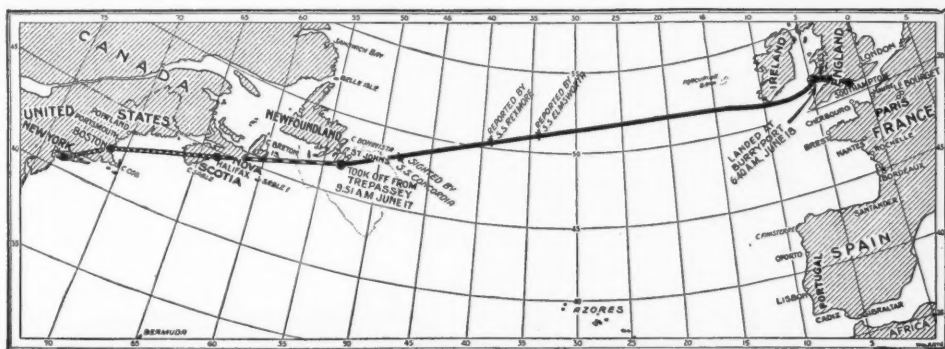
THE FATE OF THE ITALIA

During the month the whole world has been concerned in the attempted rescue of the airmen who aboard the Italia had disappeared from sight on May 25, and who had drifted about on an ice floe for two weeks, until suddenly on June 9 radio communication was re-established. Thus it was gradually learned that the Italia, returning from its second trip over the North Pole, had struck a gale of snow and wind, and with very little warning had been forced down on to rough ice floes less than five miles off Foyn Island, north of Spitsbergen, at 80.30 degrees north and 28 degrees east. The crew of sixteen had been divided into three groups.

When the dirigible crashed, General Nobile was thrown out upon the ice with Professor Behounek, Alfredo Viglieri, Filippo Troiani, Natale Ceccioni and Guiseppe Biogi. Nobile himself was injured in the right arm, and his right leg was fractured. Natale Ceccioni suffered a broken leg as well, but the others were unharmed. A sec-

ond group who had been thrown from the Italia, upon learning that the food was scarce and rescue distant, decided to trek across the ice floes in search of land, and there to make their way to Swedish hunting or fishing settlements. In this group were Dr. Finn Malmgren, Alberto Mariani and Filippo Zappi. The third group, left behind on the Italia, drifted off with the wreck of the dirigible. Later some of their comrades on the ice saw a great burst of flame, but it was not known whether this was the benzine tank which might have exploded or the balloon of the Italia itself. Nobile recalled that there were provisions stored in the balloon which would have kept the marooned men supplied for weeks. In this third group were Professor Aldo Pontremoli, Dr. Ugo Lago, Ekore Arduino, Renato Alessandrini, Attilio Carotti and Calisto Cioeca. Vincenzo Pomella, who had been left aboard the balloon, had been thrown violently on to the ice and instantly killed. He was buried by Nobile's group in the ice.

Upon learning the approximate positions of the three groups, relief work began in earnest. Seven nations, fourteen steamers, nineteen airplanes and seaplanes had become affiliated with the rescue expedition on July 1. Norway sent its most experienced Arctic pilots, Lieutenant Hjalmar Riiser-Larsen and Lieutenant Luetzow Holm, who stationed their base ship, the Braganza, at King's Bay, Spitsbergen. Again and again these fliers swooped over the region where they knew Nobile and his five castaways were awaiting relief, but they were unable to sight the small tent which Nobile had dyed with red aniline to attract attention.



Route of Miss Earhart's transatlantic flight

The ice-bound group saw the fliers, however, and when frantic signals proved of no avail, radioed their disappointment to the Italia's base ship, the Città di Milano, at King's Bay. The attempts to locate Nobile continued. Many new expeditions started to the rescue, among them one under Roald Amundsen, Nobile's companion on his North Pole flight in 1926. Backed by the French Government, and with the motto: "Speedy help is double help," Amundsen, with Lieutenant Dietrichsen, Commandant René Guilbaud, Lieutenant de Cuverville and two French mechanics, Emile Valetto and Gebert Brazy, took off from Tromsø, Norway, on June 18 in the Latham seaplane 47 to make a thorough search for the Italia's crew. Amundsen's subsequent disappearance aroused even more frenzied plans for combing the Arctic regions.

On June 20 Major Maddalena, flying an Italian plane, the Savoia-55, succeeded in locating Nobile by radio and threw from the plane 660 pounds of supplies, including food, clothing, arms and ammunition, a rubber boat and medicine. With Major Penzo, he repeated this flight on June 22. Hardly had this feat been acclaimed when news came that a valorous aviator of the Swedish Relief Expedition, Lieutenant Einar-Paál Lundborg, had succeeded in landing his Fokker monoplane on the ice floe where Nobile and his comrades were waiting and had not only rescued Nobile and taken him to the Swedish steamer Quest, but had flown back to the ice floe on the same day for others of the group. However, in landing on the ice—a difficult feat which might have cost his life—his plane turned turtle, breaking a wing, and marooning the rescuer with Nobile's five erstwhile comrades until July 5 when his comrade Lieutenant Shiborg, in a Moth plane, was successful in taking Lieutenant Lundborg from the ice field back to the steamer Quest.

Nobile was rushed to his base ship, the Città di Milano, where he received medical attention at once. He was declared to be in a feverish mental and physical state, although he insisted on directing the plans for the rescue not only of his small group stranded on the ice floe but also of the other two lost Italia groups. Of these Mariano and Zappi, with the body of Dr. Malmgren, were found on July 11. They were rescued

the following day by the ice-breaker Krasin, which then pushed further on and took aboard the five castaways, companions of Nobile on the ice floe. Summarized, the rescue expeditions were as follows:

NORWAY: Expedition in charge of Captain Hjalmar Riiser-Larsen and Lieutenant Luetzow Holm. Their base ships, the ice breaker Braganza and the sealer Hobby, with the plane Maake-38 for scouting, stationed at Kings Bay. The Norwegian Relief Expedition raised 45,000 kronen (\$12,000) overnight in Oslo alone. The steamer Michael Sars and the cruiser Tordenskjold were sent to Bear Island.

SWEDEN: Expedition in charge of Captain Tornberg. Base ships Quest with the seaplane Upland, and Tanja together with the whaler Roy, with a hydroplane aboard, stationed at Virgo Bay. Swedish dog sledges also sent across the country to look for the Malmberg group.

RUSSIA: Expedition in charge of Professor Samoilovich. Base at Green Harbor with powerful ice-breakers Krassin, 36,000 tons, with a seaplane in charge of Aviator Babushkin, and the smaller Maligin, making their way through the ice floes.

ITALY: Expedition in charge of Captain Romagna aboard the Città di Milano. Major Maddalena in the seaplane Savoia-55, and Major Penzo in the seaplane Marina I, and Ravazzoni Baldini piloting a Dornier-Wahl plane, joined the rescue work.

FRANCE: Expedition originally in charge of Roald Amundsen, with Captain Guilbaud in the Latham-47 lost on June 18. Steamers Strasbourg and Quentin Roosevelt, and later the Heimland were sent to search for Amundsen and his party. The plane Pourquoi Pas, piloted by Dr. Jean Charcot, the most recent to go.

FINLAND: Expedition in charge of Lieutenant Sarko on Steamer Marita with a Finnish plane. Also the flying boat Turku, piloted by Lieutenant Linr.

GERMANY: Expedition in charge of Ernst Udet, German stunt flier, who pilots a Rohrbach-Rocco plane. Dr. Hugo Eckener offered the services of his not quite completed Zeppelin.

To these organized expeditions may be added the offer of Great Britain to send two light airplanes on the request of the Italian authorities, the work on land of the Alpine Chasseurs, the offer of Lincoln Ellsworth, a member of the Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile 1926 North Polar flight, to assist in any way.

The work of rescuing any of the castaways has been retarded by the mild climate encountered at this time of the year. As the temperature rises, impenetrable fog settles over the entire waste of ice, delaying both ships and planes, and placing insurmountable obstacles in the way of relief.

Outstanding Events Of The Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

THE conventions at Kansas City and Houston, while they lasted, absorbed the vitality of the two great political parties, the newspaper offices and also the radio announcers. Never before has the American public been so familiar with loud speakers, both mechanical and human. Under the present system of primary elections the quadrennial party track meets are the only large scale examples of the delegate nominating convention, invented by the Democratic Party a century ago, speedily developing into national nominating conventions, where scenes of some of the most interesting crises of American history have taken place.

Whatever arrangements are likely to be made in committee rooms and hotel bedrooms, whatever arts of manipulation may nullify the real wishes of national conventions, both the Republican and Democratic candidates for President and Vice President in the coming campaign undoubtedly reflect the wishes of a large majority of the delegates who nominated them. It is too early to speculate as to the outcome; but apparently much depends upon possible changes of rôles by the intensest Southern Democratic States and the intensest Republican New England States.

The most striking feature of the seething political excitement of the campaign is the self-obliteration of the President of the United States. Every one admits that a nomination was his without asking and that election would almost surely have followed his nomination. He blocked a renomination; he designated no favorite for the nomination; he took no part in the deliberations. He simply went about his own business. George Washington tired of his office and was eager to return to Mount Vernon, but all the other Presidents who served two full terms—Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Grant, Cleveland, Wilson—would presumably have accepted a third term if presented on a platter. It is no accident that there is but one living ex-President. The

office is a crushing burden. Presidents have been worn down by eight years of service, and many by four years. It is a life of continuous and heavy responsibility, from which the only escape is to make off for a vacation to some place distant from Washington. The more conscientious the President, the heavier the weight of the office.

One of the issues of the campaign is the relative authority of the National and State Governments. Newspapers and periodicals of late have been beset with stories and arguments turning upon questions of State rights. One phase of this perennial issue is the enforcement of Prohibition. The Eighteenth Amendment differs from all that preceded it by declaring that "the Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." This has been construed to mean that previous State Prohibition laws or constitutional Prohibition may still be made the basis of legal prosecutions and penalties; and that likewise the status of the United States on the subject can be enforced by prosecutions before Federal courts. Likewise, a special system of enforcement has been created, which is in a sense a national liquor police. In most States the authorities have left the whole matter to Federal enforcement; but the confusion of authorities has tended to weaken the whole restrictive system.

Objections to the enforcement of the Volstead Act, which is the existing Federal Prohibition statute, have been made partly on the ground that the act is too drastic and depends upon an undesirable class of informers and spies. In addition, an argument has been evolved, and very hard pressed, against Federal Prohibition, on the ground that it is contrary to natural liberty. If this is a sound objection, it may reasonably be brought against all State prohibitions or serious restrictions on the liquor traffic. If the Eighteenth Amendment were to be deleted by a counter-amendment,

put in force by a three-fourths majority of the State Legislatures, nearly the whole body of previous State constitutional amendments and statutes would be revived; and the liquor question would still be in politics.

Partly because of the excitement over national liquor regulation and partly because of a traditional doctrine of State rights, which in its extreme form was invoked to justify secession, nation versus State controversies are constantly coming to the front. Any State court may refuse to regard a privilege claimed under the Federal Constitution or a Federal statute on the ground that it is contrary to the expressed or reserved rights of the States. Such cases, of course, may be appealed to or removed to a Federal court; and thence, if the importance of the case justifies it, to the Supreme Court of the United States. For instance, recent decisions of the highest court hold that a New Jersey corporation, authorized to do business in Pennsylvania, should not be required to pay a tax on gross receipts derived from the use of motor vehicles used for transportation within Pennsylvania. On the other hand, the Supreme Court has recently ruled that it is not in the power of the States to fix the fee which an employment agency charges for its services. Suits are now pending to protect the rights of the States to control "radio broadcasting, wave allocations, and wat-tage." New Jersey apparently claims rights in all the air above its territory, which is not to be controlled if the electric impulse crosses the boundary from one State into another.

Few people realize the vast extent of this interlocking and repercussion of State and National authority; nor does the general public take into account the immense fields of legislation and regulation which are permanently and indisputably assigned by the Federal Constitution to the Federal Government, free from all impediments and restrictions from the States. Such are coinage, the postal service, patents and copyrights, the army, navy and "all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." These powers, immense in their extent and vast in their authority throughout the Union, are absolutely outside the control or rivalry

of any State or of all the States combined, except by Federal constitutional amendment.

Greater than almost any of these powers is the Federal authority to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States," which is the basis of the extensive system of statutes and decisions regulating interstate commerce, trade and corporations. As fast as science discovers new methods of transportation of material things and electric and other impulses through earth or air, the interstate commerce clause is called into action. If the claim of New Jersey to control radio in her own atmosphere were sound, we should speedily have forty-eight systems of conflicting and self-exterminating rays. There is no such thing as a set of inherent personal rights, as for instance the right to manufacture or sell intoxicating liquor which is free from interference by State or Federal law.

One of the most important applications of the power over interstate and foreign commerce is the complete control of immigration by the United States. There is at present a propaganda against the Federal quota system. Great objections were long made to any significant limitation on immigration in relation to intelligence. President Wilson and President Taft both vetoed laws carrying an intelligence qualification. The country has now settled on the quota system, which is a startling limitation on the influx of foreigners. Instead of 300,000 or 400,000 a year admitted under the present law, unrestricted immigration would add between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 each year to our permanent population.

From year to year difficulties which have revealed themselves in the immigration system have been eliminated. No longer is the right of admission left unsettled till the immigrant reaches American territory. The question of whether he has fulfilled the necessary conditions is passed upon by an official of the United States Government in the country from which the immigrant comes. The right later to bring over wives or husbands or children of immigrants already admitted has been much enlarged. In addition, scores of thousands of persons are allowed to come in, not as immigrants, but as visitors or on business or for tempo-

rary residence; and it is not always possible to round them up and expedite their departure at the expiration of their six months' stay.

A new difficulty has arisen because immigrants duly admitted receive no official record of their admission. Hence the Department of Labor has recently ordered that all aliens entering the United States shall receive identification cards issued by the American Consuls at the port of departure and containing a description of the immigrant and his photograph. This new system has been harshly criticized, one objection being that the alien "does not want the card." Of course he wants it, if he intends to remain in the country, and particularly if he wishes ultimately to become a citizen. The real basis of the objection is that it makes it possible for the Federal Government to trace people who somehow

have reached this country without the legal preliminaries.

The requirement of an identification card is no more a hardship than the requirement of a passport such as has been or is being secured this year and paid for to the tune of \$10 each by over 700,000 Americans, for, without such a document, they would not be allowed to enter foreign countries this Summer. To this tax the American tourist must add \$10 for each visa to England, France or Italy and lesser sums to some other nations. Hence, a total sum of perhaps \$12,000,000 or \$15,000,000 is levied on Americans by foreign Governments, as an offset to the \$10 tax levied by the United States Government on all immigrants. Uncle Sam will receive perhaps \$4,000,000. Apparently the "exmigrant" has his financial troubles as well as the immigrant in the proportion of three or four to one.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

The Kellogg Treaty to Outlaw War

THE negotiations for a multilateral treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy were carried a step further by Secretary of State Kellogg on June 23 when, under his instructions, American diplomatic representatives presented in identic form to the Governments of fourteen nations a new draft treaty and covering note containing the declaration that the United States was ready to sign "without qualification or reservation" the final draft as submitted. The text of this treaty, which, together with that of the covering treaty, was made public by the State Department on June 24, showed that Mr. Kellogg stood on his original proposition of April, 1928, except for minor changes in form in the suggested preamble of the treaty, the main body of the draft remaining unchanged.

The changes in the preamble were designed to clarify the language beyond all question as to the aims sought, the real difference being the insertion of a clause stating that "any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied

the benefits furnished by this treaty." This addition was made to meet the views of France, although the covering note was intended to make clear that, in the opinion of Secretary Kellogg, it was unnecessary as embodying a principle well recognized in all treaties. All other reservations proposed by the French Government, originally numbering six, were held by Mr. Kellogg to be unnecessary, either because they were inherent and required no specific statement, or were taken care of by natural circumstances through plans for having Governments whose policies touch those of France join in signing the compact.

If the negotiating Powers, Secretary Kellogg said in the covering note, "can now agree to conclude this anti-war treaty among themselves," the United States Government "is confident that the other nations of the world will, as soon as the treaty comes into force, gladly adhere thereto, and that this simple procedure will bring mankind's age-long aspirations for universal peace nearer to practical fulfillment than ever before in the history of the world."

The negotiations were begun last April

with Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan, but subsequently were extended so as to take in specifically the five British Dominions—Irish Free State, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—and India and the Locarno Powers of Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Thus, with the United States, the number of nations directly concerned was increased to fifteen.

In order that there could be no question as to the interference of the anti-war treaty with the Locarno compacts, Mr. Kellogg explained informally on June 24, the Locarno signatories had been made parties to the treaty. They would not only have the guarantee against war or the agreement not to go to war in the Locarno treaties, but also in the anti-war treaty, he explained, and the breaking of one would break the other. In addition, Secretary Kellogg suggested in his covering note that the so-called neutral Powers might be included, either as original signatories or as adherents immediately after the treaty has been subscribed to by the fifteen Governments already mentioned. This idea was advanced to meet one of the reservations proposed by France against the anti-war compact abridging the structure of present neutrality treaties.

The covering note argues that the treaty against war would not affect present obligations. To support this view Mr. Kellogg included in the covering note the text of his address, as directed to the French proposed reservations, which was delivered before the American Society of International Law on April 28, 1928. None of the negotiating Governments, the note contends, dissented from the construction given by the Secretary of State in that address, none disapproved of the principle underlying the proposal and none suggested "any specific modification" of the original draft treaty.

The following is the text of the identic note addressed to the Governments of the fourteen nations named above, and the accompanying draft of the treaty:

It will be recalled that, pursuant to the understanding reached between the Government of France and the Government of the United States, the American Ambassadors at London, Berlin, Rome and Tokio transmitted on April 13, 1928, to the Governments to which they were respectively accredited the text of M. Briand's original proposal of June 30, 1927, together with copies of the notes subsequently exchanged by France and the United States on the subject of a multi-

lateral treaty for the renunciation of war. At the same time the Government of the United States also submitted for consideration a preliminary draft of a treaty representing in a general way the form of treaty which it was prepared to sign, and inquired whether the Governments thus addressed were in a position to give favorable consideration thereto. The text of the identic notes of April 13, 1928, and a copy of the draft treaty transmitted therewith, were also brought to the attention of the Government of France by the American Ambassador at Paris.

It will likewise be recalled that on April 20, 1928, the Government of the French Republic circulated among the other interested Governments, including the Government of the United States, an alternative draft treaty, and that in an address which he delivered on April 28, 1928, before the American Society of International Law, the Secretary of State of the United States explained fully the construction placed by my Government upon the treaty proposed by it, referring as follows to the six major considerations emphasized by France in its alternative draft treaty and prior diplomatic correspondence with my Government:

"(1) *Self-defense*—There is nothing in the American draft of an anti-war treaty which restricts or impairs in any way the right of self-defense. That right is inherent in every sovereign State and is implicit in every treaty. Every nation is free at all times and regardless of treaty provisions to defend its territory from attack or invasion and it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to war in self-defense. If it has a good case, the world will applaud and not condemn its action. Express recognition by treaty of this inalienable right, however, gives rise to the same difficulty encountered in any effort to define aggression. It is the identical question approached from the other side. Inasmuch as no treaty provision can add to the natural right of self-defense, it is not in the interest of peace that a treaty should stipulate a juristic conception of self-defense, since it is far too easy for the unscrupulous to mold events to accord with an agreed definition.

"(2) *The League Covenant*—The covenant imposes no affirmative primary obligation to go to war. The obligation, if any, is secondary and attaches only when deliberately accepted by a State. Article X of the covenant has, for example, been interpreted by a resolution submitted to the Fourth Assembly, but not formally adopted owing to one adverse vote, to mean that 'it is for the constitutional authorities of each member to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members, in what degree the member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces.' There is, in my opinion, no necessary inconsistency between the covenant and the idea of an unqualified renunciation of war. The covenant can, it is true, be construed as authorizing war in certain circumstances, but it is an authorization and not a positive requirement.

"(3) *The Treaties of Locarno*—If the parties to the treaties of Locarno are under any positive obligation to go to war, such

obligation certainly would not attach until one of the parties has resorted to war in violation of its solemn pledges thereunder. It is therefore obvious that if all the parties to the Locarno treaties become parties to the multilateral anti-war treaty proposed by the United States, there would be a double assurance that the Locarno treaties would not be violated by recourse to arms. In such event it would follow that resort to war by any State in violation of the Locarno treaties would also be a breach of the multilateral anti-war treaty and the other parties to the anti-war treaty would thus as a matter of law be automatically released from their obligations thereunder and free to fulfill their Locarno commitments. The United States is entirely willing that all parties to the Locarno treaties should become parties to its proposed anti-war treaty, either through signature in the first instance or by immediate accession to the treaty as soon as it comes into force in the manner provided in Article III of the American draft, and it will offer no objection when and if such a suggestion is made.

"(4) *Treaties of Neutrality*.—The United States is not informed as to the precise treaties which France has in mind and cannot therefore discuss their provisions. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that the relations between France and the States whose neutrality she has guaranteed are sufficiently close and intimate to make it possible for France to persuade such States to adhere seasonably to the anti-war treaty proposed by the United States. If this were done no party to the anti-war treaty could attack the neutralized States without violating the treaty and thereby automatically freeing France and the other Powers in respect of the treaty-breaking State from the obligations of the anti-war treaty. If the neutralized States were attacked by a State not a party to the anti-war treaty, the latter treaty would of course have no bearing and France would be as free to act under the treaties guaranteeing neutrality as if she were not a party to the anti-war treaty. It is difficult to perceive, therefore, how treaties guaranteeing neutrality can be regarded as necessarily preventing the conclusion by France or any other Power of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war.

"(5) *Relations With a Treaty-Breaking State*.—As I have already pointed out, there can be no question as a matter of law that violation of a multilateral anti-war treaty through resort to war by one party thereto would automatically release the other parties from their obligations to the treaty-breaking State. Any express recognition of this principle of law is wholly unnecessary.

"(6) *Universality*.—From the beginning it has been the hope of the United States that its proposed multilateral anti-war treaty should be world-wide in its application, and appropriate provision therefor was made in the draft submitted to the other Governments on April 13. From a practical standpoint it is clearly preferable, however, not to postpone the coming into force of an anti-war treaty until all the nations of the world can agree upon the text of such a treaty and cause it to be ratified. For one reason or another a State so situated as to be no menace to the peace of the world might obstruct agreement or delay ratification in such

manner as to render abortive the efforts of all the other powers. It is highly improbable, moreover, that a form of treaty acceptable to the British, French, German, Italian and Japanese Governments as well as to the United States would not be equally acceptable to most, if not all, of the other powers of the world. Even were this not the case, however, the coming into force among the above-named six powers of an effective anti-war treaty and their observance thereof would be a practical guarantee against a second world war. This in itself would be a tremendous service to humanity, and the United States is not willing to jeopardize the practical success of the proposal which it has made by conditioning the coming into force of the treaty upon prior universal or almost universal acceptance."

The British, German, Italian and Japanese Governments have now replied to my Government's notes of April 13, 1928, and the Governments of the British Dominions and of India have likewise replied to the invitations addressed to them on May 22, 1928, by my Government pursuant to the suggestion conveyed in the note of May 19, 1928, from his Majesty's Government in Great Britain. None of these Governments has expressed any dissent from the above-quoted construction, and none has voiced the least disapproval of the principle underlying the proposal of the United States for the promotion of world peace. Neither has any of the replies received by the Government of the United States suggested any specific modification of the text of the draft treaty proposed by it on April 13, 1928, and my Government, for its part, remains convinced that no modification of the text of its proposal for a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war is necessary to safeguard the legitimate interests of any nation. It believes that the right of self-defense is inherent in every sovereign State and implicit in every treaty. No specific reference to that inalienable attribute of sovereignty is therefore necessary or desirable. It is no less evident that resort to war in violation of the proposed treaty by one of the parties thereto would release the other parties from their obligations under the treaty toward the belligerent State. This principle is well recognized. So far as the Locarno treaties are concerned, my Government has felt from the very first that participation in the anti-war treaty by the powers which signed the Locarno agreements, either through signature in the first instance or thereafter, would meet every practical requirement of the situation, since in such event no State could resort to war in violation of the Locarno treaties without simultaneously violating the anti-war treaty, thus leaving the other parties thereto free, so far as the treaty-breaking State is concerned. As your Excellency knows, the Government of the United States has welcomed the idea that all parties to the treaties of Locarno should be among the original signatories of the proposed treaty for the renunciation of war, and provision therefor has been made in the draft treaty which I have the honor to transmit herewith. The same procedure would cover the treaties guaranteeing neutrality to which the Government of France has referred. Adherence to the proposed treaty by all parties to these other treaties would completely safeguard their rights since subsequent resort to war

by any of them or by any party to the anti-war treaty would violate the latter treaty as well as the neutrality treaty, and thus leave the other parties to the anti-war treaty free, so far as the treaty-breaking State is concerned. My Government would be entirely willing, however, to agree that the parties to such neutrality treaties should be original signatories of the multilateral anti-war treaty, and it has no reason to believe that such an arrangement would meet with any objection on the part of the other Governments now concerned in the present negotiations.

While my Government is satisfied that the draft treaty proposed by it on April 13, 1928, could be properly accepted by the Powers of the world without change except for including among the original signatories the British Dominions, India, all parties to the treaties of Locarno and, it may be, all parties to the neutrality treaties mentioned by the Government of France, it has no desire to delay or complicate the present negotiations by rigidly adhering to the precise phraseology of that draft, particularly since it appears that by modifying the draft in form though not in substance, the points raised by other Governments can be satisfactorily met and general agreement upon the text of the treaty to be signed be promptly reached. The Government of the United States has therefore decided to submit to the fourteen other Governments now concerned in these negotiations a revised draft of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war. The text of this revised draft is identical with that of the draft proposed by the United States on April 13, 1928, except that the preamble now provides that the British Dominions, India and all parties to the treaties of Locarno are to be included among the Powers called upon to sign the treaty in the first instance, and except that the first three paragraphs of the preamble have been changed to read as follows:

"Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

"Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

"Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty."

The revised preamble thus gives express recognition to the principle that if a State resorts to war in violation of the treaty, the other contracting parties are released from their obligations under the treaty to that State; it also provides for participation in the treaty by all parties to the treaties of Locarno, thus making it certain that resort to war in violation of the Locarno treaties would also violate the present treaty and release not only the other signatories of the Locarno treaties but also the other signatories to the anti-war treaty from their obligations to the treaty-breaking State. Moreover, as stated above, my Government would be willing to have included among the original signatories the parties to the neutrality

treaties referred to by the Government of the French Republic, although it believes that the interests of those States would be adequately safeguarded if, instead of signing in the first instance, they should choose to adhere to the treaty.

In these circumstances I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of your Excellency's Government a draft of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war containing the changes outlined above. I have been instructed to state in this connection that the Government of the United States is ready to sign at once a treaty in the form therein proposed, and to express the fervent hope that the Government of will be able promptly to indicate its readiness to accept, without qualification or reservation, the form of treaty now suggested by the United States. If the Governments of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, the Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Poland, South Africa and the United States can now agree to conclude this anti-war treaty among themselves, my Government is confident that the other nations of the world will, as soon as the treaty comes into force, gladly adhere thereto, and that this simple procedure will bring mankind's age-long aspirations for universal peace nearer to practical fulfillment than ever before in the history of the world.

I have the honor to state in conclusion that the Government of the United States would be pleased to be informed at as early a date as may be convenient whether your Excellency's Government is willing to join with the United States and other similarly disposed Governments in signing a definitive treaty for the renunciation of war in the form transmitted herewith.

TEXT OF DRAFT TREATY

[The names of the Presidents or monarchs of the fifteen nations are here set out.]

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

Have decided to conclude a treaty and for that purpose have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries: [Space is here left for the names of the Plenipotentiaries] who, having communicated to one another their full powers found in good and due

form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I—The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article II—The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Article III—The present treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at.....

This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be neces-

sary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at and the treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other Powers parties hereto.

It shall be the duty of the Government of to furnish each Government named in the preamble and every Government subsequently adhering to this treaty with a certified copy of the treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the Government of telegraphically to notify such Governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in the French and English languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

Done at the day of in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty

Disarmament Proposals Making Little Headway

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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THE task of the Security and Arbitration Committee, which met at Geneva during the last days of June, was made at once more easy and more difficult by the proposals of Secretary Kellogg for an international agreement renouncing war. More easy, since the treaty, if adopted, will, to a considerable degree, remove the uncertainty as to the action of the United States in the face of a European crisis. By the terms of the treaty, we commit ourselves to nothing and can shape our course in whatever way the situation may seem to demand; but we can hardly be indifferent or "neutral," whatever, in the present state of the world, that word may mean. A violation of the provisions of the Covenant regarding the outbreak of war will be, equally and inevitably, a violation of the Kellogg treaty; and we are morally bound to take appropriate action. The task of the committee is more difficult because, however probable seems the general acceptance of the treaty, it has not in fact received the approval of the Governments; and until it has been approved the committee cannot rely on it in making their plans.

From one point of view then, the session just closed accomplished very little, and

must be set down as another of those inconclusive debates that have been provoked by the proposal for disarmament. Such a view is, however, neither just nor intelligent. The very fact that again and again the nations meet to express their agreement that the present situation is intolerable, tends increasingly to create the public opinion that will make eventual agreement possible and necessary. Month by month, year by year, the passions resulting from the war are subsiding and the necessity for constructive cooperation, politically as well as economically, becomes more clear. The time is rapidly coming when the statesmen in both camps can discuss their common interests without—to use our own expressive if somewhat vulgar phrase—"waving the bloody shirt."

The debates before the committee were concerned largely with forms of assistance which might be given to a Power that had suffered from an unprovoked attack. The Covenant provides for the immediate severance of trade and financial relations with the offending Power, and for the recommendation by the Council of military and naval sanctions. It seems generally agreed that it has no authority to order such sanc-

tions. France, leading the smaller Powers, is not satisfied with this situation, and demands further protection. The Protocol, which would have provided it, failed to secure the approval of Great Britain, and alternatives must be sought. The proposal of Finland that immediate financial assistance be given to a State that has been attacked; and that, for this purpose, the League should raise, by means of an international loan, a large fund, always available for instant use, has met with general approval. The principle, it is agreed, is sound; but there are, as usual, wide differences of opinion as to the organization of the loan and the method of its application. France, as is almost always the case, prefers a clean-cut formula automatically applied; Great Britain a more flexible scheme that can be made to fit the occasion. She refuses to be bound by any hard and fast rules. There are perfectly good arguments in support of both positions. In the debate on the motion to submit a scheme of this sort to the next session of the Assembly, Lord Cushendun insisted that whatever plan should be chosen should previously receive the approval of the leaders in the world of international finance, if not be drafted by them. The scheme finally adopted provides for the elaboration of a special convention, open for adoption not only by the members of the League, but by the nations outside. Obviously they hope for the assistance of the United States, for without the backing of our money market, the success of the loan would hardly be assured.

Another proposal before the committee, originating with the German delegation, would empower the Council, in the event of threatened war, to maintain or re-establish the military status quo. To this also Lord Cushendun objected on the ground that it might work to the advantage of the aggressor who, in preparation for his action, had largely increased his striking force. He received the support of Italy in his protest against giving the Council any supervision over national military preparation. The debate was interesting, as earlier, Germany had been inclined to support the British rather than the French theory of the powers of the Council, but on this occasion, they declared square-



KELLOGG ANTI-WAR PACT

Uncle Sam (holding her tight): "Here's to our anti-war pact."

Marianne: "But I must have my right arm with the hand grenade free."

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

ly for the French thesis. At the September meeting of the Assembly, all of these matters will be discussed in further detail.

Whatever happens in Southeastern Europe is of vital interest in every Foreign Office, and a conference of the Powers which constitute the Little Entente, such as that held at Bucharest on June 20, is of much more than local concern. M. Bratianu, the Rumanian Prime Minister, presided, and the only others present were Titulescu, his Foreign Minister; Benès, representing Czecho-

slovakia, and Marinkovitch, the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia. As these conferences are always held *in camera*, and their communiqués are not designed to be illuminating, very little is known as to what went on. The Paris *Temps*, from its semi-official connection with the French Government, is usually well informed on matters of this kind, and it reports that a major item on the agenda was the relation of the three Powers to Italy and Hungary, and the efforts that are being made to bring about some modification of the terms of the Treaty of Trianon. Allied to this is the continued failure of the Council to find a solution of the quarrel between Rumania and Hungary over the rights of the Transylvanian landholders.

The eleventh International Conference of Labor was in session at Geneva from May 30 to June 16. Like all conferences of this sort, its value lies, not in the establishment of precise standards of legislation, but in the exchange of views, the mobilization of experience and the gradual formation of a public opinion that is finally reflected in national law. A large amount of time was given to the discussion of industrial accidents, a field in which the United States has a bad eminence. From 20,000 to 25,000 annually are killed in this country, and the number of injured runs into the millions. Even in France there is an average of 5,000 accidents a day, entailing an annual loss in time by the workers of 20,000,000 days of work during the year, to say nothing of the

medical and surgical expenses that they make necessary. In the last five years the number injured in Great Britain has been greater than the total British casualties in the Great War.

The minimum wage was also discussed at length. It is recognized that the establishment of international standards is impossible, but the principle involved has become imbedded in the legislation of nearly all of the civilized countries. The report advocates equal pay for equal work by men or women. The strike, for generations considered as the *ultima ratio* of industrial conflict and a necessary weapon for progress, is falling into disfavor. A resolution, introduced by a Canadian delegate, urged that the world is weary of them, and that more intelligent methods of resolving the conflicting interests of labor and capital should be sought.

The Copyright Conference, which sat during the month of May in Rome, modified in important particulars, if their action is approved, international rights in literary property. Thirty nations, through their delegates, were in attendance. Although the United States, by its continued restriction of the copyright privilege to books manufactured within the United States, has never been a party to the Berne Convention, on which the international law of copyright rests, we were represented at the conference by a non-voting delegation. The Berne Convention, originally adopted in 1887 and modified in 1896 and 1908, provides that a

book copyrighted in any country within the union is protected in all the others. During the twenty years that have elapsed since the last revision, the phonograph, the radio and the moving picture have introduced a host of new problems; and it was to deal with them that the conference was called. The resolution embodying the various modifications which were agreed upon are to be submitted for ratification to the several national parliaments, by which action of some kind must be taken before July, 1931.



M. Briand: "Stop! Madame, you drown it! I ask for leetle splash—and you give me Niagara Falls!"

—Daily Express, London

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

ANOTHER interesting milestone in the life of the League of Nations was passed in June when the Council came together for its fiftieth session. Whereas at the first meeting, on Jan. 16, 1920, there was but one item on the agenda, and the meeting lasted but an hour and a half, at the fiftieth session there were nearly forty items covering 200 different subjects, and the meeting, though not a particularly important one, required a full week.

In these first years the Council has gone through constant evolution. Before the Covenant was completed it was first conceived of as a sort of Permanent Supreme Council of the Great Powers. Neutral pressure, however, made the first proportion five Great and four Small Powers. This proportion was broken when the United States did not take its seat, and shortly afterward was recognized as artificial when two more Small Powers were added on the principle that the division would be, not by size, but by interest. Then, in the crisis over the admission of Germany to the League, the total number was again increased to fourteen, including five Great Powers and nine smaller Powers. In addition, at each session of the Council anywhere from half a dozen to a dozen States are present for particular questions, this time, for instance, eight other States not members of the Council, including one non-member of the League, Turkey.

In the same way the procedure of the Council has evolved. The first sessions were mostly private. Now, however, the great majority of the meetings are public, with usually about 180 journalists from all over the world in attendance. The twenty-five to fifty items which appear on the agenda can be dealt with in a week's time, only because of a most painstaking preparation before the meeting, consisting of reports by expert committees distributed weeks in advance, an analysis by a member of the Council specially selected and informal discussions by the members of the different interested delegations. For the first time in its history the world has a perma-

nent, continuous, expert method of international intercourse.

International Centralization—During this fiftieth session the Council, as is usually the case, took several decisions which help still further to build up what might be called the constitutional life and practice of the League. The seizure of machine guns at St. Gothard, while important in itself, may later be considered as even more important in its double result of establishing a precedent for League investigation into the fulfillment of disarmament and of further clarifying and defining the rights and powers of the Acting President of the Council, who is, in a sense, the political representative of the League between sessions. Again, the important question of the relationship to the League of international organizations placed under its control brought up not only the whole general question of international organization and centralization, but also the specific problem raised by Italy as to a closer relationship between the League and the Institute of Agriculture at Rome, which for a long time, even before the war, had been very useful to the agricultural world. In the latter question the United States is much interested, not only because the institute was in part founded by American initiative, but because recently the Government's participation has been purely passive pending action on a proposed reorganization, of which this move toward the League is, perhaps, a part counter-echo.

Juridical Clarification—Two further facts of considerable juridical interest may also be noted. In the first, the Albanian Government's use of Article 11 to bring a minority problem before the Council was not felt to be justified, as minority protection is otherwise provided for and that article ought to be reserved for quite other matters. So, too, in the vexed question which has played so large a part in America's adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice the opinion is given by several eminent European jurists in a report on Greek and Turkish refugees that unanimity is required for the Council to

ask an advisory opinion of the Court. This view does not, of course, have binding force, but is interesting as a contribution to this most difficult question.

Political Questions—The main attention of the fiftieth Council session was, however, fixed on three political questions which have considerably disturbed international relations and which involve not only their own immediate and important issues, but also far-reaching precedents. These cases were the seizure of machine guns at St. Gothard, the Polish-Lithuanian dispute and the Hungarian optants affair. In no one of them was a clear-cut, satisfactory solution reached; on the contrary, disappointment was felt even by many ardent League friends. Some of the difficulties of this new international method were, however, brought out, not least of all the need for unanimity and the lack of any force except moral suasion. Sometimes, however, it is by delay and disappointment that progress is most expedited in the end.

Minorities—The special treaty clauses for the protection of racial, religious or linguistic minorities were also brought into operation at this Council session in several German petitions from Upper Silesia. While the details are too complicated to enter into, the conclusion may be stated that once again the League served as an outlet for complaints which so poisoned international relations before the war and as a method of bringing about better relations in admittedly difficult circumstances. Because of its extreme delicacy, however, this work must always be inconspicuous.

Economics and Finance—The first report of the Economic Consultative Committee was approved by the Council, notably the recommendations concerning the world inquiries into coal and sugar, the publication of tariff level indices and studies into dumping, administrative protectionism, international cartels and abnormal fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold. The necessary action was also taken on the Financial Committee's reports on the

financial restoration of Bulgaria and Greece.

Other Questions—The Health Committee was also given the necessary approval and authority in connection with the standardization of certain important sera products, such as for diphtheria, tetanus and dysentery; for the study of certain biological products such as arsenobenzenes; for an international study of leprosy and the fumigation of ships; for the coordination of measures against the spread of yellow fever in the Congo, and for cooperation with the Greek Government against tuberculosis. Several other committee reports were approved: in the traffic in women and children, for a study of laws in countries which have abolished the licensed house system; in child welfare, concerning the legal age of marriage and the place of the cinematograph; in opium, for the entry into force of the Opium Convention and the addition to it of certain new drugs not previously classed as dangerous; in refugees, to extend to some 15,000 Assyrians, Assyro-Chaldeans and Turks the same measures previously so helpful to Russian and Armenian refugees. Finally, the Council occupied itself with certain internal questions, reconsidering the whole building plans of the League in the light of Mr. Rockefeller's \$2,000,000 library gift, receiving a report on the technical aspects of installing a League wireless system to be available in case of emergency, approving another report on the question of the allocation of League expenses among the member States and making appointments to the Committees on Mandates, Economics, Intellectual Cooperation and Greek and Turkish Refugees.

In other words, the month of June, as hitherto for the League, brought to a culmination the various activities of the Winter and Spring and gave the necessary authorizations for a Summer of steady but quiet work in preparation for the Ninth Assembly in September.

GENEVA, July 1, 1928.



Finances of the United States Government

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

THE most spectacular and nationally important events during June were the Republican and Democratic Conventions, at which (as described elsewhere in this magazine) candidates were nominated for the Presidential election in November. June meant, as usual, the Government's annual business of financial housecleaning, involving the presentation to the nation of a detailed account of revenues and expenditures for the fiscal year of 1928 and forecasts of financial conditions in 1929.

The contrast between the reduction of Federal running expenses and the rising costs of State and local Governments was the theme of President Coolidge's budget speech before the fifteenth annual meeting of the business organization of the Government on June 11. "This steady increase in governmental costs on the part of the States and municipalities is a menace to prosperity," said the President. "It cannot be ignored. It will not correct itself. I can conceive of no more dependable guarantee of genuine prosperity than a nation-wide effort in behalf of less and wiser spending by State and local Governments." Whereas the Federal Government decreased its expenses by \$2,000,000,000 between 1921 and 1925, the cost of State and municipal Governments increased by \$3,500,000,000 during that time.

In spite of the fact that Government estimates of tax receipts and expenditures in 1929 forecast a deficit of some \$94,000,000, the President denied any feeling of alarm, but urged the most rigid economy and placed his faith in general business prosperity for increased receipts and a reduction of estimated expenditures. "This nation is committed irrevocably to balancing the budget," he concluded. "Nothing short of a national emergency can trespass upon that commitment."

Reviewing the increase of economy and business prosperity during his Administration, President Coolidge stated that "the mining industries were in a particularly

depressed condition in 1921, whereas several of them have been very active thus far in the present year. Check payments, for electric power production and contract awards for new buildings have had, in the early months of 1928, a monthly average about twice as large as in the year 1921. Railway traffic is about one-fourth greater. Agricultural prices have been more favorable during the current year, whereas the reverse was true in 1921." Although it contained no direct political allusions, the President's speech was regarded by many as designed for campaign material.

General H. M. Lord, Director of the Budget, also spoke praising the budget system, which made possible a reduction of \$8,084,794,716 in the public debt in less than eight years. During the last twelve months alone the public debt has been reduced by \$907,000,000, according to the report of the United States Treasury for the fiscal year of 1928, made public on July 1. Secretary Mellon stated that the total surplus for the year was \$398,000,000, representing what was left after expenditures of \$3,644,000,000. Furthermore, the improvement in the financial position of the Government was accompanied by a tax reduction of over \$220,000,000. Income tax receipts for 1928 fell \$45,455,065.92 below the total for 1927.

Anticipating the maturing on Sept. 15 next of the Third Liberty Loan, of which \$1,228,000,000 was outstanding on July 1, Secretary Mellon announced two issues of short-term certificates on June 5. These offers, totaling \$400,000,000, consist of a 4 per cent. series maturing on Dec. 15, 1928, and a 3½ per cent. series, maturing on March 15, 1929. So enthusiastic was the response from the bankers of the nation that by June 7 the issues were two and a half times oversubscribed. Continuing his program of bond issues in relation to outstanding Third Liberty Loan bonds, Secretary Mellon, on July 4, announced an offering of long-term Treasury certificates at 3½ per cent. maturing on June 15, 1943. In the event of subscriptions reaching \$500,-

000,000, the statement said, there would be no further long-term bond offers in exchange for Third Liberty bonds. On June 7 cash subscriptions were closed at an approximate total of \$725,000,000, but the privilege of exchanging Third Liberty Loan bonds was left open until about July 31.

The President and Mrs. Coolidge, on June 15, arrived at Pierce Lodge, a rustic camp on the Brule River, Wisconsin, where they are spending their Summer vacation. Presumably because of the illness of Mrs. Coolidge, there have been few visitors to the Summer White House, the President and his family remaining as secluded as possible.

The President did, however, receive Dr. Hubert Work, recently appointed National Republican Chairman, and Mr. Hoover's campaign manager, who arrived at Brule on July 2 to tender his resignation as Secretary of the Interior, and, it was understood, to discuss campaign plans with Mr. Coolidge. The resignation of Dr. Work was followed on July 7 by the resignation of Mr. Hoover from his Cabinet post as Secretary of Commerce. At the same time, Mr. Hoover expressed his desire to call upon the



THE DISCOVERY OF A FAMILY
ANTIQUE
—New York World

President, who immediately invited Mr. Hoover to visit Brule. It was understood that the date on which Mr. Hoover's resignation was to take effect would be decided at that meeting. Dr. Work announced that Mr. Hoover would make few campaign speeches, these chiefly over the radio, and that he would not discuss politics until after his formal notification at Leland Stanford University on Aug. 11.

Governor Smith, on the other hand, immediately followed up his nomination on June 28 with a message, on June 29, defining his stand on the Prohibition issue. While insisting on strict law enforcement, in accordance with the Prohibition plank laid down in the Democratic platform (see page 802 of this issue), Governor Smith pledged himself to fight for revision of the Prohibition law, which in his opinion is antipathetic to a large part of the American people. The message concluded:

It is well known that I believe there should be fundamental changes in the present provisions for National Prohibition, based, as I stated in my Jackson Day letter, on the fearless application to the problem of the principles of Jeffersonian democracy. While I fully



WASN'T SHE A NICE GIRL!
—New York Evening Post



WHO'S THE EMBLEM OF THIS PARTY,
ANYWAY?
—New York Herald Tribune

appreciate that these changes can only be made by the people themselves, through their elected legislative representatives, I feel it to be the duty of the chosen leader of the people to point the way which, in his opinion, leads to a sane, sensible solution



SO—O BOSSY!
—Los Angeles Times

of a condition which, I am convinced, is entirely unsatisfactory to the great mass of our people.

Common honesty compels me to admit that corruption of law enforcement officials, bootlegging and lawlessness are now prevalent throughout this country. I am satisfied that without returning to the old evils that grew from the saloon, which years ago I held and still hold, was and ought always to be a defunct institution in this country, by the application of the democratic principles of local self-government and States'



RUBBING IT IN
—New York Herald Tribune

rights, we can secure real temperance, respect for law and eradication of the existing evils.

Democratic leaders hailed this pronouncement as an amplification of the principles expressed in the platform, while Southern Drys and Anti-Saloon League officials protested vigorously but took no concerted action. Republicans called the message a repudiation of the enforcement principle in the platform and criticized Governor Smith for accepting the nomination on a platform which he could not support.

John J. Raskob, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the General Motors Corporation, was chosen National Democratic Chairman and Governor Smith's campaign manager on July 11.

Midnight of June 7 came and passed and

President Coolidge had taken no action on the Muscle Shoals bill. This failure to sign or veto the bill constituted a pocket veto and gave a new impetus to the hard fought political issue of Federal operation of public utilities. Senator Norris, the author of the bill, who sets forth his case elsewhere in this magazine, asserts that the bill has now automatically become a law, contending



A FREE CITIZEN AGAIN
—New York Herald Tribune

that a pocket veto is effective only at the end of a full term of Congress.

Indicative of the growing feeling in the automobile industry that single units cannot compete successfully with large combinations, such as General Motors, two large automobile mergers were effected during the last month. The uniting of Dodge Brothers with the Chrysler Corporation marked the largest merger in the history of the motor industry. The proceedings were temporarily halted when Colonel C. H. Goddard, a Dodge Brothers stockholder, sought an injunction on the ground that the terms of the merger were unfair to Class A stockholders. Supreme Court Justice Mullan, however, denied the application when the Dodge Company complied with Judge Mullan's terms specifying certain revisions in



RELIEVED OF EVERYTHING
—New York Herald Tribune

the agreement. In a combination capitalized at \$159,000,000 the Studebaker Corporation took over control of the Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Company on June 30. The plan, which involves the formation of a new com-



If more parents did this, there'd be less work for the cops
—Terre Haute (Ind.) Post

pany, is considered advantageous in view of the Pierce-Arrow Company's net loss of \$783,000 in 1927. The Studebaker Corporation, with an output of close to 15,000 cars a year, is on a sound financial basis, according to its President, A. R. Erskine.

The death on June 24 of Senator Frank R. Gooding of Idaho, a Republican, leaves the Senate for the moment equally divided between the two major parties, with one Farmer-Laborite. There are now three vacancies in the Senate as a result of the failure to seat Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois.

Edwin T. Meredith, Secretary of Agriculture in President Wilson's Cabinet, died at his home in Des Moines, Iowa, on June 17.

PHILIPPINES—A heated conflict marked the general elections in Manila on June 5. The result was an overwhelming defeat of the Democrata Party, which stands for immediate independence. The Nationalist Party, favoring ultimate independence but immediate cooperation, now controls eight out of ten seats on the City Council. Commissioner Cabaldon, defeated candidate for representative on the non-cooperation plank, subsequently ap-

peared before the Republican Platform Committee at Kansas City to urge a Philippine independence plank in the Republican platform. His plea was unsuccessful.

The Democratic platform, in accordance with a tradition dating back to William Jennings Bryan, pledges immediate independence, despite the vote of the Philippine delegation that the question be eliminated as a political issue.

PORTO RICO—President Antonio Barcelo of the Senate, political leader in Porto Rico, was stabbed, but not fatally, with a chisel by a deranged fanatic on June 18. The attempted assassination aroused a storm of public indignation.

In answer to the cries for liberty from Porto Rico conveyed by Colonel Lindbergh last February and to protests voiced by civic bodies in San Juan, it was announced that the Brookings Institute at Washington is to undertake a comprehensive survey of economic and social conditions in Porto Rico.

The attempt to legalize one of Porto Rico's favorite clandestine pastimes failed when a bill recognizing cockfighting was vetoed by Governor Towner.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Obregon Again Elected President of Mexico

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

PRESIDENTIAL and Congressional elections were held in Mexico on July 1. The only Presidential candidate was General Alvaro Obregón, who served as President of Mexico from 1920 to 1924. The official returns from the elections will not be made public until the regular session of Congress in September. According to incomplete unofficial returns, announced by Obregón headquarters on July 7, General Obregón received 1,381,000 votes. Extraordinary precautions were taken by the Mexican Government to insure order in the Presidential and Congressional elections, with the result that dispatches of July 2 told of only one serious election disturbance

of the preceding day, in which, however, there were two fatalities and ten casualties.

The recent amendments to the Mexican Constitution that were sponsored by General Obregón and were approved at a special session of the Mexican Congress in May had been ratified by twenty-five State Legislatures, or a sufficient number to make them effective, by July 1, according to an announcement issued at the Obregón headquarters. The amendments reduce the number of Deputies to 150, provide for the appointment by the President of the members of the Mexican judiciary, and establish the commission form of government in the

towns and cities of the Federal District. The designation by The Hague Court of Arbitration of S. K. Sindballe, professor at the University of Copenhagen and formerly Minister of Justice of Denmark, as the President of the United States-Mexican General and Special Claims Commissions was officially announced on June 19. The selection was made at the request of the United States and Mexican Governments after the two Governments had been unable to agree on the appointment of an arbitrator.

Final decision by the United States-Mexican Boundary Commission in determining international title to forty-two tracts of land, comprising about 4,000 acres along the Texas border, was announced by the Department of State on June 19. The tracts of land in question had become detached from one country or the other by natural action of the Rio Grande. Action had been pending on these cases for several years; in all the cases the findings were unanimous.

The resignation of Robert E. Olds, Under-Secretary of State, who for some months after he became a member of the Department of State in 1925 personally supervised the negotiations of the United States Government with that of Mexico in the matter of the Mexican alien land and petroleum laws, was accepted by President Coolidge on June 9.

Improvement in the financial condition of the Mexican Government is shown in a statement, issued by Finance Minister Montes de Oca on July 3, which indicates the main sources of the Government's income for the first four months of the present calendar year. The income for the period from all sources totaled 89,853,403 pesos, or 5,400,000 pesos more than had been estimated in the annual budget. For the period import revenues increased nearly 24 per cent.; export revenues declined 4.3 per cent.; income tax returns increased 8.7 per cent., and consular fees increased almost 12 per cent. An official announcement of June 15 stated that customs receipts for May were 8,500,000 pesos, against 7,400,000 pesos in April.

The Department of Finance announced on June 30 that the Mexican Government had completed the payments for the service

on the national debt during the past year, 1927.

Since Pope Pius early in June entrusted the Congregation on Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs with the study of the minimum conditions that the Mexican Government should grant to permit the return of the Catholic Church to Mexico, there has been little information of an official character concerning the status of efforts to settle the Church and State conflict in Mexico. President Calles announced on June 9 that he had "absolutely nothing to state on this subject." The following day, in Rome, Archbishop Ruiz of Morelia, who stated that he was "the mouthpiece of the Mexican Bishops," said:

In general our position is that we do not ask the Mexican Government to grant us any privileges; we merely ask it to repeal those laws which make the life of the Catholic Church in Mexico impossible. It is still a matter for discussion which laws fall under this heading.

That the attitude of General Obregón toward the Church is unchanged from what it was in 1923 when he was President is indicated in a telegram attributed to him that was made public on June 19. General Obregón's attitude in 1923 was revealed in a statement issued by him on Jan. 27 of that year. In that statement he lamented that members of the Mexican hierarchy were obstructing the policies of the revolutionary government in Mexico, and invited them to support rather than obstruct. He added that with sincerity and good faith on the part of the Church officials complete harmony between the Church and State could be effected.

The whereabouts of Archbishop Orozco y Jiménez of Guadalajara have been a matter of conjecture for many months, during which time he has frequently, both officially and unofficially, been charged with fomenting Catholic armed resistance to the Mexican Government in the vicinity of Guadalajara. The charge was denied by the Archbishop in a statement sent to Bishop Pascual Díaz, Secretary of the Mexican Episcopate in exile in New York. This statement, made public in mid-June, reads, in part:

I positively declare that it is false in every respect to say that I have taken or take part in the armed movement that has been going on in the Mexican Republic for a year

and a half. * * * Is there any one * * * who would not avoid exposing his person to insults if he could? I chose to hide myself * * * and also to save the principle which has so often been put in question, that of maintaining the independence of the Church in its own sphere. * * *

General José Alvarez, who was dismissed late in May as Chief of Staff to President Calles because of alleged complicity in a plot to secure the illegal entry of merchan-

dise into Mexico, arrived on June 9, under heavy guard, at Nuevo Laredo, where his trial opened on June 10. Three days later (June 13) four of the five charges against Alvarez were dismissed by the Federal Court. One charge of conspiring to smuggle merchandise was sustained, and is punishable by a nominal fine. General Alvarez will not lose his rank in the army because of the verdict.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

IN accordance with a resolution passed at the Sixth International Conference of American States at Havana on Feb. 18, calling for a conference of conciliation and arbitration to be held in Washington within a year, Secretary of State Kellogg on June 19 sent invitations to all the Latin American Governments to participate in such a conference, commencing on Dec. 10, 1928. In his invitation Secretary Kellogg ventured "to suggest that each Government appoint two plenipotentiary juriconsults, with such advisers and experts as they may desire, to represent it at this conference." The Governments invited to participate in the conference were informed that Secretary Kellogg and former Secretary of State Hughes would represent the United States.

NICARAGUA—The whereabouts of General Sandino, the rebel leader, remained unknown to United States Marine forces in Nicaragua during June, and, with the advent of the regular rainy season, little prospect was offered of the marine forces being able soon to locate him. Nevertheless rebel forces continued during June and into July to harass and molest Nicaraguans and foreigners in some outlying districts, notably in the Department of Jinotega.

Leaflets calling attention to the recent offer of "ample and unconditional amnesty by the Nicaraguan Government in the name of peace, and in order to prevent further bloodshed," were dropped by the hundreds from marine airplanes over the areas where the rebel forces of General Sandino were believed to be in hiding early in June. The leaflets further pointed out that "the American command and its officers, seeking only pacification of the country, have given

those who have laid down their arms full and complete protection in the exercise of all their rights as citizens of Nicaragua. Those now bearing arms but who have a desire for the peace and welfare of Nicaragua are advised to seek a similar opportunity. They should communicate with their friends in the nearest city and offer to bring in their arms to the nearest American command. This amnesty is not offered to those captured while bearing arms."

The announcement that 958 marines and 28 officers would be sent to Nicaragua to augment the nearly 4,000 already there was made at Marine Corps headquarters in Washington on June 14. The reinforcements were to be sent at the request of General Frank R. McCoy, supervisor of the Nicaraguan elections to be held in the latter part of the year, for additional men to maintain order and for replacement.

Colonel Clifford D. Ham, who resigned on May 31 after sixteen years' service as Collector General of Customs of Nicaragua, in the course of a statement on the Nicaraguan situation at Balboa, Canal Zone, on June 7, said:

The marines should not be withdrawn after the elections. It makes no difference which side wins. There is sure to be discontent and dissatisfaction, which eventually will take the form of revolutionary activities. I am wholly neutral and do not care who wins. * * *

The people are not divided into 75 per cent. Liberals and 25 per cent. Conservatives, as claimed in the United States, but fifty-fifty. It is an even break. The electoral law providing for free and fair elections is assuming shape. Both parties favor it, at least nominally, and under the direction of General McCoy, assisted by electoral experts and observers, it will be strictly enforced.

The finances of the republic are in good shape except for the effects of the revolution. The customs revenues are the largest in its history and the customs service is efficient. The Government will have a big

surplus on July 1 over the amount necessary for the budget.

In his final report as Collector General of Customs Colonel Ham estimates that the cost to Nicaragua of the revolution which began in 1926—the most disastrous in its history—has been approximately \$20,039,651. This includes cash revenues diverted to military expenses, \$2,260,842; debts to Governments and banks, \$500,000; claims for property destroyed, damaged or appropriated, unpaid salaries of teachers, and so forth, \$17,278,808. Nicaragua also owes about \$3,000,000 to the United States and El Salvador for arms and munitions. "It is estimated," says the report, "that 1,500 to 2,000 Nicaraguans have lost their lives in the revolution. It is one-third of 1 per cent. of the population. The same proportion of loss in the United States would be 350,000 men."

Colonel Ham placed the public debt of Nicaragua at \$23,526,067, of which \$5,688,567 is bonded indebtedness. He estimated that at the present time the country's total indebtedness is approximately \$25,000,000.

Colonel Ham estimated the possible revenues for guaranteeing a new loan at something more than \$1,000,000 a year, based on the receipts for 1927. He held that "if the American forces had not come there would have been a general destruction of property, a loss of many lives, a probable burning and sacking of several cities, and an anarchy of government."

A warning that Americans contributing to agencies professing to collect money to send medical supplies to General Sandino, the Liberal rebel chief, should make sure that such money was actually to be used for that purpose, was sounded in statements issued at Managua on June 5 by United States Minister Eberhardt and Brig. Gen. Logan Feland, commanding the naval forces of the United States in Nicaragua.

GUATEMALA-HONDURAS — Arbitration before the International Central American Tribunal of the question of the boundary between Honduras and Guatemala was suggested by Secretary of State Kellogg in identic notes delivered early in June to the Governments of both countries. The Secretary further suggested that the tribunal be fully empowered to fix a common

boundary between the two countries, and also to determine the amount of any compensation which it might be necessary or desirable for either party to make to the other. It was also suggested that the Mixed Boundary Commission be convened for the purpose of drawing up and signing the protocol contemplated in Article VII of the convention of Feb. 7, 1923, establishing the Central American Tribunal, which convention was subsequently ratified by the Governments of Honduras and Guatemala. The Secretary of State's decision to suggest arbitration by the Central American Tribunal was reached after the whole subject had been discussed in conference with Roy T. Davis, United States Minister to Costa Rica, and the third and neutral member of the Mixed Honduras-Guatemalan Boundary Commission.

PANAMA—The campaign for the Panaman Presidency became spirited during June. Leaders of the Union Coalition Party, whose candidate is Dr. Jorge E. Boyd, in mid-June charged in the press that members of their party were received unfavorably at the United States Legation by Minister J. G. South, while the Government Party leaders, or Liberals, are received by him with sympathy. This was denied and Minister South was vigorously defended on June 13 by *El Tiempo*, the newspaper friendly to the Government.

El Herald stated that intervention by the United States in the forthcoming elections would be imperative and that similar intervention would be necessary for the next twenty years.

CUBA—President Machado, who is the candidate of all the political parties to succeed himself, made public his platform on June 21. He promised to give the country an efficient, active and business-like Administration and to simplify and redistribute taxes. He expressed the opinion that the salvation of the Cuban sugar industry depends on a reduction of the high tariff, and expressed the hope of being successful in obtaining its reduction. He promised to develop all necessary industries at any cost and to create a separate Department of Labor to assist in the organization and development of labor.

Argentina at Odds With Internal Fascism

By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN

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OUTSIDE of Italy itself there are few countries in which Italian Facismo has been more active than in Argentina. Nor are there many countries in which its activities have met with more determined and effective opposition. The reason for this is not hard to understand. There is not a single country throughout all South America in which the combined questions of immigration and assimilation of new peoples are more vitally important than in Argentina. The late President of Argentina, Señor Sáenz Peña, expressed a fine idea in the oft-quoted expression, "America for Humanity"; but it was an idea of relativity. Argentina is for humanity, but of a type and training acceptable to her and suitable to her type of civilization. Of the desired type of immigrants Argentina still needs a very large number. Possessing, as she does, more than 1,500,000 square miles of territory, with only about 10,000,000 inhabitants, she realizes the vital need of immigration, but she is now considering seriously the need for a selective process of immigration.

There is not a single country in South America that has drawn more heavily upon Italy for immigrants than Argentina. It is estimated that during the last seventy-five years she has received more than 2,000,000 Italian immigrants. Her problem is, therefore, a very important one and one that will tax her ingenuities. No one country is, therefore, more vitally interested in Italy's new immigration policy than Argentina.

It will be recalled that Mussolini announced, in May of the present year, a definite policy concerning these matters. He announced, in the first place, an increase in the principal officers of the Italian consular service personnel. It was to be doubled, increasing the number already in that service by 300, of which number 70 were to be consulate generals, 88 consulates, 92 vice consulates first class, and 50 hon-

orary consulates, second class. These new agents, he went on to explain, would be distributed throughout the world, although the larger number would be placed in the United States, the Mediterranean basin, France and South America. The increase in the number of the principal officers in this service is not of such great importance; it is rather the fact that they are assigned new duties. They are to concern themselves, above all else, with the *welfare of Fascismo*. They are to assume a larger control over Fascisti groups in the countries in which they serve. They are to organize these groups and place them directly under the control of diplomatic and consular agents to whom the Fascisti will render implicit obedience. More than that, they are to increase the membership of these Fascisti groups by all means within their power. If that cannot be done they must especially concern themselves with saving these millions of Italians for the mother country. They must prevent them from becoming naturalized in order that they may remain under the control of the Italian Government. Il Duce is gravely concerned about this matter, as will be seen from the following excerpts from a communiqué given to the press:

Fascismo considers that wherever there are Italians abroad there must be Italian officials representing them and to assist them to maintain their tradition, language and habits, according to the Fascista policy, to preserve for Italy every immigrated Italian. Ten million Italians abroad now look to their own country with a new spirit of confidence.

These Italians have brought to foreign countries inestimable wealth and deserve to be protected there. Italy must have a consul wherever she has enemies, and enemies of Italy are numerous in various parts of the world where Fascismo is badly understood, or not understood at all.

A policy so definitely at variance with the policy followed by most of the Governments of the world could hardly be expected to be acceptable to Argentina. The recent efforts to bomb the building housing the

new consulate in Buenos Aires were prompted by antagonism to the activities of the Italian Fascisti in that great city. Nor was the situation improved by the manner in which the Italian Ambassador to Argentina handled the matter. A very large section of the people of Argentina is opposed to the activities of the Italian Fascisti in Argentina. Argentina desires immigrants, but she wants immigrants that are of a desirable type and training.

The declaration of principle covering the status of aliens made by Dr. Pueyrredón at the Havana Conference has an important bearing on this whole question. The principle is that the national who voluntarily leaves his own country and voluntarily enters another automatically places himself under the laws, rules and practices of that country to which he came. At the same time he forfeits any claim to protection from his own country. Dr. Pueyrredón may not have spoken the voice of the rulers of his country, but there is no doubt that he spoke the voice of a large number of his own countrymen. *To this group there can be no duality of allegiance; there can be no State, or States, within a State.* This view is diametrically opposed to that of Il Duce and of his cohorts.

Another thing to be considered is the recent presidential election in Argentina. Observers of the recent presidential campaign point out that the victory of former President Irigoyen and his party was not only a very great one but it was an easy victory as well. In fact, neither the principal candidates of the Peronistas nor the party managers worked hard for the success gained. This, taken together with the well known principles and platform of Irigoyen, makes the problem of the future relation between Argentina and Fascista Italy a gravely important one. The Argentine people, enjoying as they do the most enviable position in the process of evolving a political and industrial democracy, can be counted upon to emerge victoriously in any struggle that may arise between them and Fascista Italy.

BOLIVIA—The effort to bring about a satisfactory solution of the boundary differences between Bolivia and Paraguay was attended by further delay when the

mixed Boundary Commission in session at Buenos Aires, adjourned until July 18 in order to secure further data and fresh instructions from the Governments concerned. Reports that Bolivia was mobilizing troops on the Bolivian Chaco, part of the territory in dispute, and that arms were being shipped for Bolivia via Sao Paulo were denied categorically by the Bolivian Minister in Asunción.

COLOMBIA—Two measures of importance have occupied the attention of the Government of Colombia for the past month. One is the law which went into effect June 1 controlling the sale of intoxicating drinks. The dissatisfaction expressed with the Federal Government for its failure to enforce the law from the first was keen. The fear was expressed that this failure would cause the law to be disliked, and that the whole policy inaugurated by its passage into law would be jeopardized. Others held the view that time was needed to evolve the necessary administrative machinery to handle the new situation. An important phase of the whole situation is the effect of non-enforcement upon the Government's ability to pay the interest on its foreign debts. Heretofore the tax on intoxicating drinks has helped to pay this interest. Not a few of the holders of Colombian bonds have become alarmed, fearing that the interest on these bonds will not be paid when it falls due.

The other important measure is the new law for the control of the irrigational waters of the republic. Señor Montalvo, Minister of Public Works, declared that it was not the object of the Government to deprive any one of the use of the waters of the country but rather to place them under the control of the Federal Government in order to prevent a monopoly, and hence the proposed law was an effort to equalize the use of the water power. He added that the purpose of the Government in advocating the expenditure of several millions of dollars to carry the plan through, was to give to the large agricultural industries their due share of attention. The reclamation of the semi-arid lands is a great problem and one that demands attention by the Government. How-

ever, critics maintain that the main purpose of the Government is to curb the activities of foreign concerns in Colombia, notably the United Fruit Company. This program is an example of the general plan of new Colombia to wrest the control, no matter how small, from foreign hands. The most important phase of this whole policy concerns the mineral deposits of the country. In this field the Government has suspended activities until the cases pending in the courts have been disposed of.

CHILE—The sinking on July 6 of the Chilean transport *Angamos*, in which 291 lives were lost and only four were saved, was a tragic event caused by a storm which drove the ship ashore and battered it to pieces among the rocks. When, in response to a faint wireless signal, near-by ships arrived on the scene of the disaster off the Southern coast of Chile, no trace of wreckage could be found, and only four survivors were picked up. According to these, the captain, seeing that he could do nothing to rescue those on board, committed suicide. The ship had sailed from Punta Arenas loaded with coal for Chilean naval vessels in northern waters. The passengers were mostly laborers and their families en route to the Chilean nitrate fields.

The resignation of William Collier, former United States Ambassador to Chile, was followed by deep expressions of regret in Chile and an unprecedented labor demonstration at Santiago in recognition of former Ambassador Collier's work in bringing about harmony and understanding between the two countries. William S. Culbertson, former Ambassador to Rumania, was appointed to succeed him.

The salient features of President Ibañez's policy were set forth recently as follows by the President in a speech to the personnel of the Chilean training corvette *Baquedano* before it sailed on a visit to New York and Philadelphia:

They will ask you about the political doctrines supported by the present Government of Chile, and I can tell you, with all the

sincerity of which my soul is capable, that my Government is of no political party; it is neither Conservative, Liberal, Radical, Democratic nor Communistic; my Government is inspired by new and modern economic-social concepts.

PERU—The arrival of Ambassador Moore in Lima, as successor to Miles Poindexter who resigned, was seized upon as an appropriate moment for comments on the Tacna-Arica question. Secretary Kellogg announced, however, that Mr. Moore was not charged with any definite instructions and that the United States Government desired to observe the strictest neutrality in the whole matter.

An air service is contemplated to connect Lima with parts of the United States and other countries. The Peruvian Government has authorized the construction of means for an air service between Lima and Panama, which will link up with the service between Panama and parts of the United States. New charters have been given to Huff Deland of the Keystone Aircraft Corporation, representing the United States; to the *Compania de Aviación Faucett*, representing the Peruvian Government, and to the *Compania Nacional de Aviación Commercial*, representing Germany. The charters to the two non-Peruvian concerns were granted on condition that the companies should have no recourse to their own national Governments in case of differences with the Peruvian nationals or Government. The Government also specified that the service should be heavily insured; that actual service should begin within the year; that all individuals engaged in the service must be considered as Peruvian nationals in all matters of law; that the Peruvian Government should have preference over all other mails; and that in case of international wars or other grave calamities the Peruvian Government should have a right to take over the whole concern. The companies are to do a mail, passenger and freight service. In return these companies receive the right of preference over all air service established hereafter.



British Labor Movement Facing Split

By RALSTON HAYDEN.

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THE repudiation of the present moderate leaders and policies of the Labor Party and the revival and application of the Marxian doctrines of class war were urged upon the workers of Great Britain in a manifesto issued on June 21 by A. J. Cook, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, and James Maxton, Chairman of the Independent Labor Party. Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, Robert Clynes, and the other controlling leaders of the Labor Party were accused of having betrayed the Socialism upon which the labor movement was founded, and of having destroyed the fighting spirit of the party.

Coming just as the electoral program of the Labor Party was being formulated, and as the General Council of the Trades Union Congress was debating whether to continue the conferences on industrial peace inaugurated by Sir Alfred Mond (now Lord Melchett), the manifesto was regarded as an attempt to coerce the party into accepting the political and economic doctrines of the extremists by threatening the secession of the Left Wing in case of refusal. The revolt, however, only brings into the open fundamental party differences which have existed for years. Intensified by the failure of the general strike, the determined efforts of the central leaders to drive all Communists from the local organization, and the exclusion of Marxian doctrines from the party electoral program, these differences now threaten to split the Labor vote in the coming campaign and definitely to divide the Labor Party.

The appeal of Messrs. Cook and Maxton was as follows:

TO THE WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN

For some time past a number of us have been seriously disturbed as to whether the British Labor movement is being led. We believe that its basic principles are:

(1) An unceasing war against poverty and working-class servitude. This means an unceasing war against capitalism.

(2) That only by their common efforts can the workers obtain the full product of their labor.

These basic principles provided the in-

spiration and the organization upon which the party was built. They were the principles of Hardie and the other pioneers who made the party. But in recent times, there has been a serious departure from the principles and the policy which animated the founders of the movement.

We are now being asked to believe that the party is no longer a working class party, but a party which represents all sections of the community. As Socialists we feel that we cannot represent the views of capitalism. Socialism and capitalism can have nothing in common. As a result of the new conception that Socialists and capitalists should sink their differences, much of the energy which ought to be expended in fighting capitalism is expended in crushing everybody who appears to remain true to the ideal of the movement.

We are convinced that this change is responsible for destroying the fighting spirit of the party, and we are now coming out openly and challenging it. We can no longer stand by and see thirty years of devoted work destroyed in making peace with capitalism, and in compromising with the political philosophy of our capitalist opponents.

In furtherance of our efforts, we propose to combine in carrying through a series of conferences and meetings in various parts of the country. At these conferences the rank and file will be given an opportunity to state whether they accept the new outlook, or whether they wish to remain true to the spirit and the ideals which animated the early pioneers.

Conditions have not changed. Wealth and luxury still flaunt themselves in the face of the poverty-stricken workers who produce them. We ask you to join in the fight against the system which makes these conditions possible.

JAMES MAXTON,
A. J. COOK.

The failure of the extremists to move the moderate party leaders from their course was made evident on June 29 when the General Council of the Trades Union Congress defeated the proposal to terminate the Mond conferences and instead voted to establish a national council to further good relations between workers and employers. This body, to be called the National Industrial Council, is to include representatives of the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations and the Federation of British Industries on the one hand, and of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress on the other. It is

hoped that it will be a permanent instrumentality for preventing industrial warfare and increasing British production by the hearty cooperation of capital and labor. In the industrial part of its program, therefore, it seems evident the British labor is moving away from, rather than toward a class war which Cook, Maxton and their followers advocate. It is a foregone conclusion that the political program of the Labor Party will reveal progress in the same direction, for under the instructions which it received from the party conference the committee which is drafting the platform can not well include anything very revolutionary in its proposals.

The only Labor leader of importance who has thus far joined the ranks of the revolters is John Wheatley, a member of the MacDonald Cabinet of 1923. Speaking to his Glasgow constituents, he declared: "I believe you sent me to Parliament to bring about Socialism in our time, so I will support Maxton and Cook." The official Labor view is that the storm will blow over before serious damage is done to the party. The *Daily Herald*, the official Labor organ, in the course of a reasoned answer to the rebels, said: "While we give both signatories every credit for their sincerity, we must say that their letters are neither logical, consistent, nor helpful." Liberal opinion of the revolt was expressed by The *Daily News*, which declared: "The Labor Party has been notoriously torn by cleverly concealed dissensions for years. For the first time one body of dissentients has dared to defy the party discipline and appear in open rebellion. The example will not be lost on future malcontents, and some day the schism may assume a very serious form. There are other questions raised by Mr. Maxton's action, such as whether the Labor Party is to become what it has never quite succeeded in becoming: an ordinary constitutional political party with thousands of adherents in all ranks, or whether it is to sink back into a pure class party."

The most penetrating comment, however, was made in a statement issued by the Communist Party of Great Britain. The Communists described the manifesto as a "weak, sentimental statement which will be valueless unless it is promptly made concrete by specific proposals which clearly



TALK ABOUT A SUPERIORITY COMPLEX?

The bill giving women over 21 the vote was approved by the British Parliament on June 19; the first woman to fly the Atlantic arrived in London the same day, and, generally speaking, man is getting a definite inferiority complex without knowing it. He'll know it when the next General Election arrives! Whee!—

—Glasgow Bulletin

show the difference between Maxton and Cook on the one hand, and MacDonald and Mond on the other." The test of the declaration, they declared, would be whether among other things, they were prepared to advocate complete withdrawal from the Mond Conference, to fight for the affiliation of the Communist with the Labor Party, and to identify themselves openly side by side with the Communist Party, Minority Movement and Left Wing Movement.

The essence of the situation is well expressed in this statement. If the Maxton-Cook group are prepared to act in accordance with their expressed convictions, their revolt may very well result in the secession from the Labor Party of the radical element which has bitterly opposed the MacDonald leadership and policies since the

days of the war. The line of cleavage would be that which has appeared in every Continental Socialist Party—between the Marxian advocates of the class war and the opportunists; between those who would violently destroy the existing social, economic and political order and those who would gradually modify it by utilization of the ballot and the other political instruments which it puts into the hands of all

of the people. Such a schism might weaken Labor in the coming election, but the determined efforts which the leaders of the Labor Party have made during the past three years to purge their ranks of Communists and to dissociate themselves from extreme radicalism indicate very clearly that they will choose to lose the support of the extremists rather than to yield to them.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

IRELAND—National economic progress of a very substantial character was revealed by President William T. Cosgrave of the Irish Free State in a survey published during June. For the first time the Government has balanced its budget and is living within its income. Budgetary revenues are approximately \$120,000,000 for the current year, while the national expenses are somewhat less. The sum total of the Government's liabilities has been accurately determined and amounts to about \$100,000,000. This is the equivalent of \$35 per capita, as compared with \$814 in England, \$456 in France and \$160 in the United States. The survey also shows that the adverse trade balance is steadily falling, and that the period of abnormal conditions which produced wide fluctuations in prices and wages has been passed.

CANADA—Parochial education in Canada was vitally affected by a judgment delivered June 12 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in London, dismissing the appeal of the Roman Catholic Separate Schools of Tiny, Ontario, in a case which Lord Haldane declared to be "among the most important that have come from Canada in recent years." The school trustees contended, in effect, that under the British North America act of 1867 they had the right to establish continuation schools, collegiate institutes and high schools and to conduct them free from all provincial regulations; that the supporters of Roman Catholic Separate Schools were exempt from the rates imposed for the support of the provincial schools; and that those provincial statutes which sought to alter the basis of legislative grants which existed at

the time of the Confederation were unconstitutional. All these contentions were denied by the Judicial Committee and the appeal was dismissed.

AUSTRALIA—In a close election held early in June the Labor Government of Tasmania lost its legislative majority and passed out of power in this State. The final results gave the Nationalists 15 seats, Labor 14 and an independent anti-labor candidate 1. Of the votes cast the Nationalists polled 37,423, the Labor Party 41,809, the Independents 7,456 and Independent Labor 1,982. The defeat of the Labor Government was said to be mainly due to fear that the extremists of the party would obtain control and prevent Premier Lyons from continuing to carry out his moderate policy.

SOUTH AFRICA—The importance which South Africa attaches to her position in the League of Nations was again illustrated in the acceptance by the Union of the Kellogg multilateral anti-war treaty. In its note of acceptance the Hertzog Government declared that it took it for granted that "some provision will be made for rendering it quite clear" that the treaty shall not preclude obligations under the League. Other British Dominions stated that they assumed that the treaty would not interfere with the League, but asked for no provision to this effect in the treaty itself. South Africa also made reservations to protect its right of self-defense, and expressing the understanding that the violation of its provisions by any State would relieve all other signatories from its obligations with respect to that State.

France's Return to a Gold Standard

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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ON June 24 the French Parliament by overwhelming majorities—450 to 22 in the Chamber of Deputies and 256 to 3 in the Senate—adopted the bill presented by Premier Poincaré for the legal stabilization of the franc. On the following morning a special edition of the *Journal Officiel* published over the signature of the President of the French Republic an official decree fixing the French monetary unit, in accordance with the terms of the law, as a franc worth 65.5 milligrams gold, nine-tenths fine. So ended the first phase of the long struggle for the complete economic rehabilitation of France. For M. Poincaré the passage of the legislation represented the conquest of almost insurmountable obstacles, not the least of which were his own doubts and hesitations, quite natural in the circumstances. The action of Parliament was a demonstration, too, of Poincaré's leadership, since he had to win to his policy those influential members of his Ministry who had long contended for a higher revalorization rate.

Curiously enough, some difference of opinion has arisen here as to the exact equivalent of the new unit in terms of United States dollars. First cable dispatches placed the value at \$0.0393, or 25.52 to the dollar and 124.21 to the pound sterling. Receipt of this rate was followed by much confusion in the exchange market, since brokers found it impossible to reconcile the reported rate with the provisions reported for the law. In some cases the par equivalent was reported as .0392, in others .0391 $\frac{3}{4}$; other rates ranged between these two. Differences would seem to be due to variation in the number of decimal places used after the decimal point. The decree itself as reported, unlike the Italian stabilization law, did not fix an equivalent in dollars and pounds sterling, but merely provided that the new franc should contain 65.5 milligrams (.0655 grams) gold, nine-tenths fine. The United States dollar con-

tains 1.67185 grams, also nine-tenths fine. For purposes of calculation it is therefore unnecessary to reduce both units to a pure-gold basis, since both are of the same fineness, nine-tenths; the relationship, whether based on pure-gold content or nine-tenths fineness, would be the same—\$0.039178156.

As had been expected by those who relied on unofficial reports rather than on the Premier's somewhat noncommittal declaration of policy on June 7, stabilization came rapidly after the organization of the Parliament. Decision was taken at a Cabinet meeting on June 19 to submit the necessary measures on Saturday, June 23, after the New York Stock Exchange had closed, and to hold Parliament in session on Sunday until the legislation should be passed, with the expectation that the bourses of the world would reopen on Monday morning upon a *fait accompli*, as far as the franc was concerned. The plan went through without a hitch. In a brief session on Saturday evening the bill was presented. The Chamber Finance Commission approved it that evening by a vote of 31 to 1, with 9 abstaining from voting. On Sunday came adoption by both Houses. On Monday morning, true to schedule, the *Journal Officiel* appeared before the opening of the bourses at 9 o'clock with the announcement.

The bill provides for the issuance of new 100-franc gold coins, which will be legal currency, and also for 5, 10 and 20 franc silver coins, which will take the place of small denomination notes, to be withdrawn from circulation by Dec. 31, 1932. The issue of gold coins is not limited, but silver coins must not exceed 3,000,000,000 francs in value.

The bill also provides that the Bank of France must maintain a gold reserve in coins and ingots equal to at least 35 per cent. of the volume of notes issued. As a matter of fact, the first weekly Bank of France statement following stabilization

(issued on June 28) showed reserves of more than 40 per cent. The same statement indicates that the bank's books have been cleared of "bad accounts" such as the Russian war debt, and have also been cleared of the French gold held in the Bank of England as collateral on war loans. A semi-official statement gives much credit to the United States Federal Reserve System because of its aid in accumulating the gold stock. Attention has several times been called to the large amount of gold shipped from the United States to France in recent months; an additional shipment on July 7 brought the total since December to \$256,560,000.

It is impossible to point out here all the noteworthy features of stabilization as effected under Poincaré. Perhaps the most striking is that already mentioned—his success in persuading his own colleagues to stand with him. This required a final bold stroke, almost a gesture of despair, for the Premier is reported to have met M. Louis Marin's opposition to revalorization at the present rate with an offer to present the resignation of the entire Cabinet. Even here Poincaré might have failed but for the loyal support of M. Briand, whose genius for conciliation brought Marin to a realization of what such an outcome might mean to France. Marin had declared that stabilization now meant that France would go bankrupt for four-fifths of her riches (the pre-war value of the franc was, of course, 19.3 cents). To this Briand is reported to have rejoined, "If you compel the Premier to resign with his Cabinet, which represents all parties, it may be that not four-fifths, but total bankruptcy, will be the result." Pressure for immediate stabilization from officials of the Bank of France, led by M. Moreau, the Governor, apparently played no little part in the final decision; and mention should be made, too, of the speech at Belfort on June 3 of M. André Tardieu, a member of the Cabinet, in favor of immediate stabilization, which by its outspokenness may have helped to force the Premier's hand.

So effective were the Cabinet discussions preceding the final decision in bringing about complete unity on the financial program decision that the Deputies were faced with the problem of finding leaders to whom

to entrust the Government should the Poincaré ministry be repudiated; for it was not concealed that in the event of a defeat for the National Union Ministry none of its members would accept a portfolio in any ministry that might be formed to succeed it—and the Cabinet included in its membership not only five former Premiers of France but the acknowledged leaders of all the effective groups around which a ministry could be built. Here again was illustrated the amazing homogeneity of the naturally heterogeneous composite that is the National Union Ministry. Its unity, which has been demonstrated in every real crisis since 1926, is one of the Parliamentary wonders of our times. Indeed, the ministry appears to have emerged from its stabilization difficulties with renewed strength and cohesiveness. In a speech in the Chamber on June 29, M. Poincaré, in answer to critics from his own side of the house, the Right, who complained that the presence of four Radicals in the Cabinet was not representative of party member-



ALSACE

"What? You're not happy? Even after I have freed you from the German prison?"
—*Simplicissimus, Munich*

ships, described the events which had led up to the formation of his ministry and declared: "I grouped about me those who had opposed me. Since then there has developed among us a spirit of close solidarity, and I have never for one minute regretted my choice." Out of the collaboration of these opposing elements, he continued, and because of sacrifices now on one side and now on the other, had come a spirit of confidence that had made possible all that had been accomplished. "Today," he went on, "the Cabinet is more united than ever. We have only one regret—that the same union does not exist in the corridors of the Chamber." "We will continue to govern with whatever majority follows us," he continued. "We desire it to be as large as possible, but we shall be faithful to those who are faithful to us. We will exclude none but those who exclude themselves."

On the final vote of confidence on the ministerial declaration of policy which followed this speech, the Government obtained a favorable vote of 460 to 120, the largest majority on a question of confidence since the opening of the session. The effect of this vote was to dissipate for some time to come the possibility of modification of the Cabinet and to make apparently still more remote the realization of any hopes that may have been entertained as to its overthrow.

The Premier's speech on June 29 was in its essentials a reiteration of the declaration of policy of June 7 (summarized in a previous issue of this magazine), concerning which the Premier made the following statement: "I have not a single word to withdraw or change of the ministerial declaration made at the opening of the session." The declaration may, therefore, be taken as a program for the remaining days of the present sitting (expected to adjourn on July 14), and for the reopening of Parliament in the Fall.

Hope was seen for the imprisoned Deputies from Alsace in this statement: "When the final judgment of the courts has been given, France will have an opportunity to show that she can be generous." The Premier had previously twice obtained the support of the Chamber in his opposition to the release of the autonomist Deputies Ricklin and Rossé—on June 14 and again

on June 28—by majorities of 342 to 167 and 420 to 150, respectively. The vote on June 14 included the Communist Deputies (Cachin, Doriot and Marty), agitation for whose release was responsible for tumultuous scenes at the opening of Parliament.

The economic position of France continues to be good. Receipts of taxes for the first five months of 1928 were more than 1,000,000,000 francs in excess of Treasury estimates. Unemployment figures show a steady decline. May foreign trade shows a substantial reduction of imports excess over previous months as well as over the same month a year ago. The death rate has declined, the infant death rate in particular showing a marked fall in 1927 from the high figures of 1926. Statistics for 1927 show a population of 40,960,000 inhabitants, the highest figure since the war. M. Loucheur, the new Minister of Labor, has proposed an appropriation of 10,000,000 francs to help subsidize the building of houses in Paris and the provinces in order to meet the shortage of housing accommodations. It is announced that housing losses due to the war have been 75 per cent. replaced.

M. Maurice Paléologue, diplomat and writer, has been elected to the French Academy to fill the vacancy caused by the death of M. Jonnart. For the vacant seat of the late François de Curel some twenty-seven candidates have been registered. Under a new law the Academicians will receive \$400 a year from the Government, the first increase since 1795.

On July 2 the first anniversary of Commander Byrd's flight was celebrated at Ver-sur-Mer. On July 4 the memorial to the dead of the Lafayette Escadrille was dedicated at Vaucresson, near St. Cloud.

BELGIUM—The new library of the University of Louvain, opened and dedicated on America's Independence Day, has a peculiar interest to Americans because of three facts: It was designed by an American architect; the funds for its construction and endowment were raised in the United States; the *carillon* for which Whitney Warren built a special belfry, was donated by the engineers of America. [A description of the library follows this article.]

The new library has been much in the public eye in recent months because of the bitter controversy between Whitney Warren and Mgr. Ladeuze, the Rector of Louvain University, over the question of the Latin inscription which Mr. Warren had planned to place upon the façade—*Furore Teutonico Diruta: Dono Americano Restituta* [Destroyed by Teutonic Fury: Restored by an American Gift]. The dispute was precipitated in the Autumn of 1925, when Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, started an agitation in the interest of world peace to have the projected inscription modified. Whitney Warren, however, insisted on the inscription, though authorizing the substitution of the word "Folly" for "Fury" in its translation. He further declared that the late Cardinal Mercier had approved the Latin inscription as it stood.

The situation became tense when Mgr. Ladeuze, Rector of Louvain University, took a strong stand against the inscription, questioning the correctness of its Latinity, and declaring that it would tend to foster international hatred. Students of the university, many of them Germans, threatened to destroy the balustrade on which the inscription was to be placed. On June 22 Mgr. Ladeuze ordered another balustrade to be built. Mr. Warren took legal steps to prevent this; but the Rector secured an injunction. This the American architect disregarded, and began to put in place the five stones bearing the inscription. The Rector then had these removed and set up new pillars without the inscription.

Factions arose in favor of the two opponents, and national feeling in Belgium ran high. On June 26 the Belgian Royal Family refused to attend the dedication exercises. On June 27 a mob of students began a riot, broke through the police lines and pulled down the new pillars raised by the Rector. On June 28 it was announced that Herbert Hoover, still Director of Belgian Relief, had sent a telegram declaring against the inscription. On June 30 King Albert announced that he was in favor of eliminating the inscription, and on July 3 a truce was declared by both sides, the victory in the long and bitter controversy falling to M. Ladeuze.

Thus on July 4 the new library was for-

mally opened and dedicated as originally planned, but the American architect was absent. Only a bas-relief high on the front of the building showing its predecessor wrapped in flames contained any suggestion of the controversy. The exercises were initiated by a solemn invocation delivered by Mgr. van Roey, Archbishop of Malines. Hugh Gibson, the American Ambassador, handed Rector Ladeuze the golden key of the new building. Dr. Frank Pierrepont Graves of the Carnegie Foundation and Dr. Edward Dean Adams, Chairman of the Engineering Foundation, spoke briefly of America's love for Belgium. Cardinal van Roey replied: "Each stone of this building will tell future generations of American generosity." So the new Library of Louvain was dedicated, amid the pealing of its new bells, also donated by America.

Great enthusiasm was displayed during the visit of the King and Queen of Belgium to the Congo, to inaugurate a new railway and to make a complete tour of the entire colony.

The Port of Antwerp was reported to be suffering from a dockers' strike, some 10,000 men being involved.

Belgium recently paid the United States \$3,575,000 as interest and principal on her war debts.

M. Louis Franck, Governor of the National Bank of Belgium, in an article in *L'Europe Nouvelle* of Paris, recounts the progress made in Belgium in less than eighteen months since stabilization took place, emphasizing low cost of living and general economic stability as among the advantages.

Captain Alfred Loewenstein, the Belgian financier who recently visited the United States and who has been called the third richest man in the world, disappeared under mysterious circumstances on July 5 while his private airplane was flying over the English Channel on a trip from London to Brussels. First reports indicated an accident, as he was supposed to have opened by mistake a door in the side of the airplane instead of one communicating with another compartment and to have fallen out. When it was reported that the door could not be opened except by determined effort, conjecture turned to suicide. This was denied by his family and friends,

who declared his business affairs were in good order, and that he had no other reason for suicide. A deliberate disappearance was then suggested, with the possibility that the hoax was effected by leaving the airplane before it started from Croydon. This was denied by attachés of the field. At the time of writing it was reported that fisher-

men off the French coast had seen a man make a parachute descent from an airplane at the time that Loewenstein disappeared, and that he was picked up by a boat. A Belgian court of inquiry on July 9 decided that Loewenstein had "disappeared," and, at the request of the presumed widow, a curator of the estate was appointed.

Louvain's New University Library

By ANNE SOMERS HOUSE

BRUSSELS CORRESPONDENT FOR THE CHICAGO *Tribune*

FIVE hundred years ago (to be exact, in 1426) Duke Jean IV of Brabant organized the University of Louvain and laid the foundations for its library. In the night of Aug. 25-26, 1914, German soldiers are charged with having set fire to the four corners of the library building and burning it to ashes, with only a few stone walls remaining. On the Fourth of July, 1928, Louvain's new American-built library, a magnificent fireproof building of brick and stone in purest Flemish Renaissance style, was opened with appropriate ceremonies by Monsignor Ladeuze, Rector of Louvain University. But there was no Latin inscription on the façade of the stately edifice, thus formally opened and consecrated, speaking of the authors of the destruction of the building it replaced; the policy of conciliation championed by the Rector had prevailed over that held by the American architect, Whitney Warren, and his followers, and peace was the keynote of the ceremony when Hugh Gibson, the American Ambassador, handed to Rector Ladeuze the golden key of the new building, and when Monsignor van Roey, Archbishop of Malines in succession to the late Cardinal Mercier, chanted: "Peace be to this house!"

Louvain's new library is probably the most American building in Europe. Not a centime of European money went into its building. The total cost of more than \$500,000 was raised entirely in the United States.

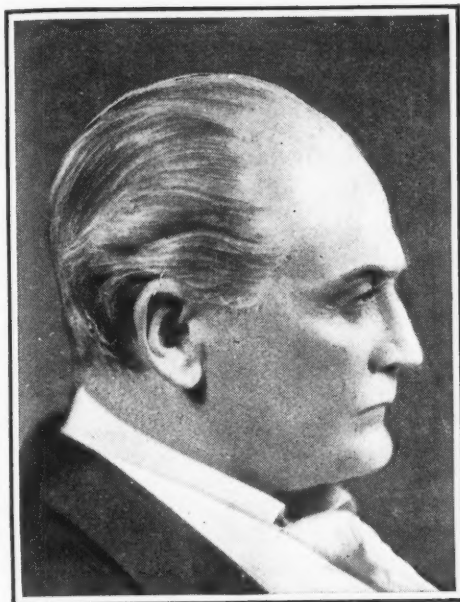
Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, headed the first committee which was to collect money for rebuilding the library. The Carnegie En-

dowment Fund contributed \$100,000. Mr. Whitney Warren, the American architect, to whom the actual building of the new library was entrusted, traveled all over the United States to invite universities, colleges and other institutes of higher learning to collect the funds, which Belgium, nearly bled to death by four years of battles and German occupation, was unable to raise herself. Finally, Mr. Herbert Hoover took the task into his energetic hands and his Commission for Relief in Belgium raised the last necessary sums and established an endowment fund which will serve in the future to run the library as smoothly and as efficiently as any modern public or university library in the United States.

When Whitney Warren started to work out the plans for the new library, Louvain University authorities are said to have worried a good deal about what this "foreigner from New York" might build on the handsomest square of their quaint, quiet town of no more than 40,000 inhabitants. A skyscraper? A modernistic cube? A pseudo-Greek temple in the manner of many an American university library?

They were much relieved when the architect finally showed his plans to the late Cardinal Mercier and proposed a building in the purest Flemish Renaissance tradition: outside as graceful, as decorative and as colorful as the guild houses on Grand Place in Brussels or the city halls of Bruges or Audenaerde; inside, the acme of modern comfort.

But what is a Flemish Renaissance edifice without a "carillon?" Whitney Warren



Underwood

WHITNEY WARREN

American architect who designed the new Louvain Library

therefore built a belfry, a "tower-voice of truth," as he puts it, for the library. Yet this tower would have been a mute voice, had not Edward Dean Adams, President of the Engineering Foundation of New York, offered to have the engineers of America donate the bells, the cost of which was estimated at \$80,000. Mr. Adams advanced the money and then collected it from America's engineers. So the *carillon* was also donated by America.

As one enters the building, one does not feel at all that it was built by foreign money and foreign artists on Belgian soil.

The lofty arcades under the façade of the library are a close relative of the arcades which support the home of the Archbishops of Liège in the picturesque old Meuse town. Each column in the arched hallway, however, commemorates its American origin, for the name of one of the American colleges which helped raise money for the library is engraved there. So West Point, for instance, is inscribed in beautiful, gilded letters on one of the main columns supporting the arches. Columbia University's name is engraved on another powerful column.

But the general character of the building is Flemish, as Mr. Warren intended it to be, since he had his assistants travel all over Belgium in 1920 and bring him drawings of the most thoroughly native architecture, carefully avoiding the imported French styles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Heavy oaken doors, massive staircases with broad balustrades, take the students from the arcades under the façade up to the actual library part of the building. A vast reading room fills the greater part of the first floor, with smaller periodical and professors' private reading rooms flanking it on either side.

Technically, all details in these rooms are as perfect as they can be had in the year of our Lord 1928, with the latest sort of radiators, desk lamps and what not. Moreover, these rooms are beautiful to look at. Days were spent on finding just the right shade for the ceiling of the big reading room, where a faint blue, copied from the northern European evening sky, is sprinkled with white and gold specks in Milky Way fashion. Throughout the building the shades are delicate on the walls and ceilings, and contrast with the dark hues of the oaken door frames.

A soft light filters through the heavy glass floors and ceilings of the book stacks. On dark steel racks stand the 750,000 volumes of ancient and modern books which the new library owns today. Even before the inauguration students were working in the stacks, as this part of the building was finished two years ago, while the more decorative rears and halls of the library were still crowded with hammering, chiseling, carving and plumbing workmen.

Around 300,000 modern books and several hundred manuscripts, some of them unique, were still crowded with hammering, chisel-August night of 1914. The library owns today more than two and a half times as many volumes and new ones arriving every day keep a staff of librarians busy. Each book receives a little tag indicating the name of the giver, or else bearing the words "German restitution." By dint of a special clause in the Treaty of Versailles, Germany must return as many volumes as the old library contained. Germany to the present has sent around 300,000 books and

a number of rare old manuscripts and fifteenth century prints.

Cardinal Mercier, when speaking of the destruction of his favorite library, used to deplore most of all that manuscripts were burned which never could be replaced. Thus: a "codex" of the eleventh century, with the "Carmina" of Prudence; a "Codex Parcensis" of the fifteenth century, with most of the works of Cornelius Nepos; the "Sermones ad Novicios" and the "Vita Sanctae Lidwynae," written in beautiful script by the author of the "Imitation of Jesus Christ," Thomas à Kempis. A collection of 1,000 incunabula will probably never be fully replaced, however generous the gifts of the allied nations might be and however eagerly the Germans might try to make amends. A unique collection, illustrating Jansen's reformation movement and other religious controversies of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has proved irreplaceable.

Yet Louvain's library, it must be admitted today, has fully regained its former importance because of the magnificent book contributions it received during the past ten years. From the day in 1918, when the Belgian Government began to interest the allied world in restoring the destroyed library, to the completion of the new building this Summer, Louvain Library has received more books than the wealthiest library in the world has ever been able to buy in the space of a decade.

The Japanese section of the new library alone is estimated to be worth 2,000,000 francs (\$600,000). It was given by the Mikado himself and contains Japanese manuscripts dating back to the ninth century. On cobwebby paper which resisted a millennium and is still as fresh as if it had come yesterday from a Japanese paper mill, the Sacred Books of the Buddhists are written in intricate gold and silver letters. The manuscript is rolled up in parchment and kept in a polished box.

All books for Louvain's new library are private gifts. The English, I was told by the librarians, were the most generous, contributing around 55,000 volumes. One Chinese donated his entire precious collection of Chinese Buddhist books to the library before entering as a monk into a Benedictine monastery near Bruges.

The United States may pride herself upon giving the library its most curious books. Miss Susan Mynns of Boston sent her valuable and unusual "death collection" to Louvain. Around 1,000 books, all in the choicest bindings, all the rarest editions, talk of nothing but Death; Death, the friend of Romans; Death, as he came to saints and wise men with the ancient Greeks and sinners during the pious Middle Ages; Death, a dreaded, sudden visitor to frivolous ladies like Madame Pompadour; modern theories on death, spiritualistic and materialistic ones. Skulls, skeletons with hour glass and sickle, and frail "brides of death," abound in these gruesome volumes.

The "death collection" is the only gloomy detail in the new library. Everywhere else all is light, space, comfort, brightness, and cheery atmosphere. The façade one could almost describe as "joyful." The heraldic beasts of the Allies—the rooster of France, the unicorn of England, the bear of Russia, the lion of Belgium, and so forth—are quaintly perched on the side gables. The front gable glistens brightly with gilded points and knobs here and there; and from a central niche shine the gilded coat-of-mail and helmet of Our Lady of Victory—gilded with the five-dollar gold coin "luck piece" of a former University of Pennsylvania student who fell in the World War.

The busts of King Albert, Queen Elizabeth and Prince Leopold look down from above three pulpit windows. A row of iron flower baskets hold iron flowers in natural colors representing the lily of France, the rose of England, and the goldenrod of the United States. St. George and St. Michael fight down evil spirits at the feet of Our Lady of Victory. From the belfry, from a height of 250 feet, the set of chimes plays melodiously every hour the first few bars of the national anthems of the allied nations.

One bas-relief only reminds of the tragedy to which this radiant new building owes its existence: above Our Lady of Victory there is a comparatively small piece of sculpture representing the burning of Louvain's old library.

As a Belgian statesman has expressed it, Louvain's new university library, will, "by its sheer beauty and by the very fact of its existence, become a fine symbol of American generosity."

"Cabinet of Personalities" the New Hope of German Liberalism

By HARRY J. CARMAN

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

AFTER more than a fortnight of seemingly hopeless negotiation, Hermann Mueller, Socialist leader, one of the signers of the Versailles Treaty, and Chancellor for a few months following the Kapp revolt, succeeded during the last few days in June in forming a coalition Government, the members of which were drawn from five parties, namely: The Socialists, Democrats, Centrists, Bavarian People's Party and the German People's Party. Failing to find a legislative program on which the five parties could agree, the new Chancellor selected what the press has labeled a "Cabinet of Personalities." In other words, he simply asked a number of men, picked from each of the coalition parties, to enter the Cabinet without the sworn assurance of support from their parliamentary representatives. It will be noted that several members of the new Cabinet served in the Marx as well as in earlier Governments. The new Cabinet as finally slated was made up as follows:

HERMANN MUELLER (Socialist)—Chancellor and Minister of Labor.

CARL SEVERING (Socialist)—Minister of the Interior.

RUDOLF HILFERDING (Socialist)—Minister of Finance.

ALVIN SAENGER (Socialist)—Minister of Justice.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN (People's Party)—Minister of Foreign Affairs.

JULIUS CURTIUS (People's Party)—Minister of Economic Affairs.

HERMANN DIETRICH (Democrat)—Minister of Food and Agriculture.

GENERAL GROENER (Centrist)—Minister of Defense.

JOSEPH WIRTH (Centrist)—Minister of Transportation.

HERR SCHATZEL (Bavarian People's Party)—Minister of Posts.

Chancellor Mueller at first thought of building a Government around the so-called Weimar group but finally abandoned the scheme, partly upon the advice of Dr. Stresemann. Telegraphing on June 25 from

a Baden Baden sanatorium, where he is convalescing from his recent illness, the German Foreign Minister frankly expressed his opposition to reviving the Weimar Coalition. "I consider the so-called Big Coalition," he said, "the best practical possibility for obtaining fairly stable governmental conditions in Germany. From the start I have regarded skeptically the attempt to establish a Ministry on the basis of a program approved beforehand by the various parties, since it is psychologically scarcely possible to obtain their common consent to a program extending over years and covering economic, social, tax and domestic and foreign affairs." He declared that the Weimar scheme was too weak to receive serious consideration, and that the cooperation of the five parties composing the coalition was very necessary for the welfare of Germany. "Such cooperation," he added, "will best lead to success when the personages drawn from the Reichstag caucuses of the Big Coalition reach an understanding on the program they will submit to the Reichstag and stand or fall by this program. This Cabinet formation coincides with the spirit of the German Constitution, which recognizes only the personal responsibility of Ministers and not the responsibility of parliamentary factions."

The delay in the formation of the new Government was partly occasioned by the inability of the cooperating parties to agree on a common legislative program. Considerable time elapsed in fruitless party bickering and jealousy. The People's Party, for example, wanted the Prussian Government reconstructed in the hope that it might be represented. Herr Braun, the Socialist Premier of Prussia, objected to immediate reconstruction and stated that he was most unwilling to see either Prussia or the Prussian Government made dependent on the wishes of the Reichstag parties. The Centrists likewise held off in the hope of

securing additional portfolios and concessions, but adopted a more conciliatory policy when President von Hindenburg let it be known that he strongly objected to these tactics. How the new Government will fare at the hands of the Reichstag where the Nationalists and Communists—the Right and Left extremes—constitute the opposition, remains to be seen.

The newly elected Reichstag, consisting of 489 Deputies, convened on June 13 for the first time. Of its members, 120 have not served in the Reich Parliament before. Religious services were held for the lawmakers before the session at the Dom, the former Kaiser's church, and at Hedwigs Cathedral, President von Hindenburg attending the former.

At the first appearance of the Cabinet in the Reichstag, on July 3, Chancellor Mueller pleaded for a speedy evacuation of the Coblenz area of the Rhine by the French. Inherent in this plea to the French Premier was the fear that the triumph of German liberalism at the last election will be short lived unless the Coalition Government can secure some reduction of the term of occupation, which, according to the Versailles Treaty, is to run at least another year.

Herr Loebe, Socialist, was elected President of the Reichstag for the third time by 318 votes out of 445. In a short speech on reassuming the Presidency, he expressed the hope that it would be possible in the new legislative period to obtain the limitation of Germany's reparation liabilities and a reduction of the period of occupation, thus achieving the necessary basis for the heavy social and economic tasks ahead and facilitating the policy of international reconciliation and understanding, which had been strengthened by the results of the elections.

In the election of the three Vice Presidents the Communists, who, by virtue of their numerical strength in the new House had a claim to one of these posts, could not bring themselves to adhere to the arrangement accepted by most parties, by which, in return for their support of Herr Loebe, they would have received the votes of the Socialists for their Vice Presidential candidate. Consequently they lost the post to the numerically smaller People's Party. Herr Esser (Centre), Herr Graef (Na-

tionalist) and Herr von Kardorff (People's Party) were elected Vice Presidents. The post of Third Vice President was closely contested by Frau Dr. Baumer. This is the first time that a woman has been nominated for that honor.

The opening of the newly elected Prussian Diet was accompanied by a free fight between Communists and Deputies of the Right, in which Herr Ponsieck of the Christian National Peasant Party was badly bruised and had to receive medical attention. The chair was taken provisionally by the venerable Count Posadowsky-Wehner, a prominent figure for many years in pre-war political life, who has been elected on the list of the People's Rights Party, representing the claimants to revalorization of inflation securities. From the moment of his rising to open the session, the Communists became obstreperous, shouting "Down with the Government Coalition," "Out with the political prisoners," "Amnesty," and so on; and when he embarked on a little fatherly speech of welcome to the Deputies, the Communists shouted: "But the Deputies are in prison." These interruptions had reference to the fact—the discussion of which eventually led to the breach on the floor of the House—that two Communists elected to the Diet on May 20, Herr Zobel and Herr Bruhn, are serving sentences of one year and nine months' detention in a fortress, respectively, for having been concerned in the publication of seditious literature. The Communists have been demanding their release on the ground of parliamentary privilege.

Germany's machinery production is growing at a very rapid pace. Output in 1927 was no less than 36 per cent. higher in value than in 1926, which, however, was a bad trade year. Hence, though home consumption increased enormously in 1927, owing to the great industrial expansion, exports grew. They totaled 458,953 metric tons, as against 392,953 tons in 1926.

Germany's birth rate, once the model of Europe and the despair of France, has sunk so low that the nation's leading social and medical scientists have announced a special congress this Summer to consider ways and means of stimulating the production of larger families. General apprehension over the declining birth rate became more

acute when the latest statistics were published showing that in Berlin and Frankfurt-on-the-Main deaths actually exceeded births in 1927. It is true that the death rate also has decreased in the years since the war, but physicians point out that this is no sign of health improvement, for the greatest number of deaths usually occur among babies, and as the birth rate has decreased the death rate has done the same.

AUSTRIA—Bela Kun, Communist, who inaugurated a reign of Red terrorism while ruling Hungary, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment on June 26. He was convicted of belonging to a secret society and falsely describing himself on the passport by which he entered Austria. Kun's secretary, Miss Ilona Preuer, was sentenced to one month in jail. The two months Kun and Miss Preuer spent in custody awaiting trial are to be taken into account in the serving of their sentences. Miss Preuer, therefore, will be freed at once and Kun has only one month to serve. Afterward he will be deported to Russia. Georges Meyerhofer, with whom Kun lived, was acquitted. All three were tried on the passport charge, although authorities charged them with being implicated in a Communist plot against Hungary.

It seemed likely for a time that the Cabinet would fall as a result of the Kun case. Refusal of Franz Dinghofer, Minister of Justice, to extradite Kun to Hungary brought so much criticism that he was forced to resign. The fall of the Cabinet was averted when Dinghofer accepted the post of President of the Supreme Court. Prime Minister Seipel agreed to take over the duties of the Ministry of Justice in addition to his work as Federal Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The handling of the Kun case pleased neither of the extremes of political opinion. Communists denounced the Government for arresting him, Conservatives condemned the Government for refusing to hand him over to Hungary, and the Pan-German party, to which Dr. Dinghofer belongs, voted no confidence.

Kun made a bold fight to save himself from further imprisonment. Arguing with Judges and shouting at them, he maintained that his Communist activities were

not secret and criminal, but purely political. He accused the Judges of bullying him. He insisted that many documents put in evidence were forged by Hungarian police or by the Austrian Attorney General.

According to an official announcement, a definite agreement has been concluded between Austria and seven of the nine States to which she is indebted to the extent of £15,840,000, on account of relief in kind received in 1920. Apart from this sum, Austria is also under an obligation to repay to the United States and Italy £8,160,000, likewise on account of relief credits, with regard to which no settlement has yet been reached. Great Britain, France, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, it is stated, have generously waived their claims to accrued interest, which would have increased the debts by more than 50 per cent., and will permit repayment under either of two schemes—namely, in twenty-five annual instalments beginning in 1943, with nominal interest, or in forty annual instalments as from 1929, with no interest charge. Under the latter scheme Austria will repay during five years 1.2 per cent., during the next ten years 1.9 per cent., and during the remaining twenty-five years 3 per cent., yearly.

A treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights was signed between Austria and the United States on June 18, according to an announcement by the Department of State.

The comeback of the labor unions of Austria noted early in 1927, continued during the year, and on Dec. 31 last the membership of the organizations affiliated with the regular Socialist-controlled Federation of Labor was 772,762, a gain of 16,370 over the same date in 1926. Among the members were 174,991 women. The total population of Austria is only about 6,000,000.

SWITZERLAND — Twenty-two persons were arrested and eight wounded during the disturbances which took place in Zurich early in June when several hundred Communists abused and several times attacked the members of the Italian colony who were celebrating a festival. The Communists did not disperse until the police had made several charges with drawn swords.

Mussolini's Plea for Higher Wages

By ELOISE ELLERY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, VASSAR COLLEGE; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE speech of Premier Mussolini before the Italian Senate on June 5 (summarized in the July CURRENT HISTORY), in which he reviewed the relations of Italy with other countries, occasioned much favorable comment both in the European and American press. The moderation of its tone was noted with approval as evidence, if not of a fundamentally less aggressive policy, at least of a practical statesmanship which takes account of realities.

In matters affecting internal affairs no outstanding legislation has been enacted since the passage by the Senate, on May 12, of Mussolini's new electoral bill. The opposition in that body to the bill had an aftermath when Senator Ruffini, one of the leaders of the Opposition, returned to Turin and attempted to resume his course of history lectures. He is reported to have been greeted with hisses from the students, while two protestors in his behalf were shouted down and one of them was injured.

While political regeneration is to be found, according to Mussolini, in the basic changes brought about by this electoral bill, industrial peace, he maintains, is to be found only in whole-hearted cooperation between labor and capital. Speaking recently before the first national congress of Fascist industrialists, he declared that the scale of living of employes should be raised:

In time of crisis the workmen must accept a wage reduction. But once the crisis is overcome, it is to the interests of the industrialists to augment wages restoring balance in the situation. Henry Ford's policy of high salaries is impossible in Italy for many obvious reasons. And a policy of low salaries is just as inadvisable—the latter by reducing the buying power of vast masses ends by damaging industry itself. * * * It is to be forecast that peace will not be disturbed by the great western nations which are those giving direction to world civilization. After political peace will come social peace. We are witnessing the eclipse of class struggles. After the last strife of the British miners, Europe's laboring classes entered into a period of quiescence.

Turning again to conditions in Italy, he reminded his hearers that the Government

had abolished a large number of taxes, thus cutting off more than a billion lire, and exhorted them to develop their syndicates, at the same time working with labor syndicates and feeling pride in such collaboration.

Improvement has already been felt in the financial situation, according to the following report: "The course of commodity markets in Italy shows that the fluctuation of prices due to deflation has pretty much ceased and that the price average has been substantially stabilized within the limits foreseen at the time when the lira was officially revalued. Production also shows signs of constant although slow improvement, and money is still easy on the Italian market, with Stock Exchange prices inclined to improve, though with the usual fluctuations." An improvement in the trade balance for the first five months of the present year was also shown.

The "Roman question" came to the fore again recently when the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, printed the text of the circular letter sent over two months ago by Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, to the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See urging it to observe with greater severity that attitude of complete aloofness which should distinguish its contacts with the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Quirinal, with the Italian State officials and with the Royalist aristocracy. Since nothing has occurred to justify the laxity which has developed, he declared, "the Vatican will be grateful if the Ambassadors and Ministers accredited to the Holy See will take steps to insure that their staffs rigorously adhere to this line of conduct limiting their contacts with the above mentioned categories of persons to purely personal spheres."

The phrase in the Cardinal's letter which stated that nothing had occurred since 1870 to justify the altered attitude of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See toward the Italian State was especially objected to by the Fascist press—a criticism

which was in turn resented by the *Osservatore Romano*, which declared: "Nobody can reasonably maintain that the Roman question has not remained juridically unaltered since 1870. The logic of Cardinal Gasparri's letter of April 11 is the purely objective logic of this historical situation."

The resignations of Count Giuseppe Volpi, Minister of Finance, and Pietro Fedele, Minister of Public Instruction, were announced on July 8. Senator Antonio Mosconi took Count Volpi's place as Minister of Finance, and Giuseppe Belluzzo, Minister of National Economy, was appointed Minister of Public Instruction. Signor Belluzzo was replaced in the post of Minister of Economy by Alessandro Martelli, the Under-Secretary of Communications. Senator Mosconi is a Councillor of State, and Signor Martelli is Professor of Mineralogy and Geology at the Superior School of Agriculture and Forestry at Florence. Count Volpi, the retiring Finance Minister, during his several years of office, had made a remarkable record, and had gained a reputation as one of Italy's keenest business men and financiers.

General Nobile and the Italia tragedy have been the centre of absorbing interest during the last weeks. Not for years has anything so stirred all Italy. To meet the insistent demands for information, the Italian Press has devoted a large share of its space to news of the explorers. The Italian people have been especially moved by the generous offers of help from other countries in trying, in the face of apparently insuperable difficulties, to effect a rescue. The recent developments of the work of rescue of Nobile and his crew, as well as the flight of Captain Ferrarin and Major Delprete from Rome to Brazil, are treated in detail elsewhere in these pages.

SPAIN—Though persistent reports have been circulated to the effect that the state of health of General Primo de Rivera was likely to lead to his retirement, according to his own explicit statement, he has no intention of retiring, but proposes on the contrary, in spite of the unsatisfactory condition of his health, to hold the dictatorship for another five years. As an evidence of the stability of his rule he has ordered a great manifestation of Spanish

unity to be held on Sept. 13, by the patriotic unions. By this demonstration "the entire world" he declared, "will see once more how the present situation compares with Spain's disgraceful past, and will learn that a new sentiment of the duties of citizenship has arisen in the Spanish people." This announcement, coupled with the formal threat of the suppression of all newspapers which "refused to serve the national interests," aroused much criticism. It was reported that not only the enemies of Primo de Rivera, but also many who favored a dictatorship as a temporary measure were participating in the attacks on the Government.

In the opinion of the Premier, however, the great mass of the people is better and freer than before. Moreover, these benefits have been gained, he maintains, without bloodshed, without persecution and without violence. In spite of this progress he does not believe that the nation is yet ready for freedom of the press. In a recent article he set forth his views on the subject as follows:

I consider that political differences, the sterile discussions about political problems, are a real gnawing worm in the life of the nations. It will be understood that I strive to eliminate it from the Spanish people. What, above all, imparts a difference between the National Assembly and the old Parliament, is the total abstinence of politics in the former. We discuss only economic problems. I should like the newspapers to arrive at a similar result and that, instead of mean political quarrels, they should contribute to raise the moral and cultural level instead of stirring up the lowest passions.

The newspapers must not be the propagators of dangerous ideas; and as the immense majority of the nation is opposed to the entrance of agitators into our country, we must proceed against the newspapers which strive to embitter our existence. As it is the duty of the Government firmly to suppress agitation, it must also do likewise with agitation fomented by means of the printed word.

From the very first day of my coming into power I introduced the preventive censorship, which has somewhat hindered the newspapers from the technical point of view; but, on the other hand, it has rendered them very great services in the sense that they were constantly warned of what they could publish and of what they had to suppress in their information. Without the preventive censorship it is certain that many newspapers would have published articles or items which must have rendered necessary their temporary or definitive suspension.

But it will be understood that this somewhat rudimentary censorship cannot be in-

definitely prolonged; it will be necessary for the National Assembly to vote a press statute which shall clearly establish the rights, the duties and the responsibilities of the newspapers and the journalists. The press statute will not serve the purpose of persecuting the press, but will oblige it to be scrupulous and to concern itself with cultural and moral aims.

I am convinced that a good newspaper is more useful than half a dozen schools, but also that a bad newspaper can produce more destruction than a cyclone. Consequently it is absurd to suggest that the Government should treat with the same impartiality or indifference these two sorts of newspapers. The duty of the Government is to use all

the means and resources of the national activity to raise the material well-being and the moral and cultural standard of the people.

PORTUGAL—The Portuguese Government has decided not to accept an external loan from the League of Nations, as it has been unable to agree to the conditions of the Financial Committee.

Dr. Alvaro de Castro, former Portuguese Premier, who recently returned to Lisbon from political exile in Paris, died on June 29.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

The Political Murders in Yugoslavia

By **FREDERIC A. OGG**

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THE most tense of several strained situations in Southeastern Europe in the past four weeks has been in Yugoslavia, where the struggle over the ratification of the Nettuno conventions with Italy led, June 20, to the assassination of two Deputies and the wounding of four others, on the floor of the National Parliament, spreading excitement and consternation throughout the whole country.

The Nettuno agreements were signed July 20, 1925. On account of popular and press hostility to certain clauses regarded as favorable to Italy, their ratification at Belgrade has never been found possible. Of late Italy has been pressing for action, and in May it was reported that the Yugoslav Ministry had decided to try to bring matters to a conclusion. Rumors of this intention roused popular anti-Italian demonstrations, which, at the end of the month, led to feverish diplomatic interchanges between the two countries.

The difficulty was supposed to have been patched up in the first week of June, and on the 6th of the month Foreign Minister Marinkovitch, declaring that a careful re-examination of the conventions had convinced him that they were justifiable, announced that the Ministers were determined to present them to Parliament "with the least possible delay." At the very moment,

however, when Premier Mussolini, on June 7, was acknowledging the propitiatory character of the Belgrade authorities' attitude, fresh demonstrations broke out; and on the 14th another preemptory note went forth from Rome demanding reparation for an attack on the Italian consulate at Sebenico. Two days later the conventions were formally submitted to the Skupstina, and M. Marinkovitch conferred with the Chamber's President with a view to seeing that the enemies of the agreements were not permitted to filibuster them out of an opportunity to be acted upon. On June 26 it was given out that not even the shooting affair in the Skupstina would be allowed to interfere with the Government's plans.

The Yugoslav National Assembly is not noted for its orderliness. Violence both of language and of action marks almost every session. But, fortunately, such things as happened during the sitting of June 20 do not often befall. In the course of a heated debate Punica Ratchitch, representative of a Serbian Radical district in the southern part of the country—though himself a Montenegrin—was charged by several Deputies with misappropriation of land in his constituency, and the discussion broadened into a sharp attack upon the Government generally. Among the accusing speakers was Paul Raditch, nephew of the widely

known Croat leader, Stefan Raditch. His remarks moved Ratchitch to rage, with the result that he drew a revolver, and, defying the whole Assembly, fired six shots, killing the younger Raditch and another Deputy, M. George Basaritchik, a noted writer and Vice President of the Croatian Peasant Party, and seriously wounding M. Stefan Raditch and three other members.

Needless to say, the occurrence stirred the country from one end to the other; and, since it arose out of the perennial hostility between the Serbs and Croats, it had the effect of intensifying the hatred between the two elements. When, for example, the Cabinet sent condolences to the Croat injured, the messages were returned, marked in red pencil "Not accepted!" The outbreaks in Zagreb and other Croat centres which were feared did not immediately materialize, but it was understood that the partisans of the elder Raditch were waiting to see what would be the outcome of his injury; and when, on the 21st, an erroneous report of his death was circulated in Zagreb, rioting broke out, in the course of which three civilians were killed and two score or more wounded. The funerals of the slain Deputies were, however, held in Zagreb on the following day without disorder. Meanwhile the assassin had surrendered, declaring that he had been moved to his desperate act by considerations of self-defense.

As the month passed, the nation anxiously watched the ebb and flow of M. Raditch's chances for life. It was felt that if he survived he would be able to hold his fellow-Croats in check, and might perhaps be disposed to make of the whole affair the starting point of a new and better era in Serbo-Croatian relations, but that, on the other hand, his death might loose passions that would drench the country in blood. Continued improvement in his condition gave opportunity for some serious thinking, and when, in the last week of June, King Alexander initiated a series of conferences, the outlook perceptibly brightened. On the 25th it was reported that the possibility of a concentration Cabinet to supplant the existing Radical-Democrat coalition was under discussion. The Croatian Party could in no way be induced to accept representation in it. In spite of all attempts on the

part of the King to consolidate the triune kingdom, Premier Velya Vukitchevitch and his entire Cabinet resigned on July 4. M. Atsa Stanojevitch was requested by the King to form a new Cabinet, but before he began M. Raditch sent word that the Croats would not join a concentration Government. King Alexander then asked M. Raditch to outline his demands, and the Croatian, M. Pribitchevitch, was sent to confer with the King, who appealed to M. Raditch himself to form a Cabinet. Again, Raditch refused to cooperate, demanding that Parliament be dissolved and elections held. Again the King consented and asked Raditch to head the election Government. Raditch refused, with the request that a neutral statesman be chosen for this. Thereupon the King ordered Zhivojin Balutchitch, Yugoslavian Minister to Germany, to return to Belgrade to form a Cabinet. On July 8 M. Raditch left the Belgrade hospital and returned to Zagreb, where he was greeted with an ovation.

POLAND—"After Pilsudski, what?" is a question that has insistently claimed the attention of all Poland during recent weeks. Even in May, when the Premier-Dictator's serious illness removed his hand from the helm and prompted the radical and reactionary parties in the Sjem to withdraw their support, leaving the minority Government bloc helpless, the query was heard; and when, on June 27, he and his entire Cabinet rather abruptly resigned, the question became of all-absorbing interest. Largely recovered in health, the Premier resumed his duties on June 13, coming on the scene just in time to save the budget bill, which became law two days later. On the 23d, however, he closed both houses of the Diet; on the 26th he denounced his Ministerial colleagues so bitterly on the ground that they were "soft" and had allowed the Sjem to get the better of the Government, that most of them at once tendered their resignations, and on the next day Pilsudski himself resigned, carrying along his remaining erstwhile colleagues with him. Vice Premier Bartel became Premier, and most of the former Ministers reappeared in their old positions. Even Pilsudski returned to the Ministry of War. The new Government was expected to pur-

sue the same policies as the former one, and in political circles it was generally conceded that the Marshal would remain the real head.

Early in July it was reported that the reason for the Marshal's resignation was not alone the unsatisfactory state of his health, as had been officially given out, but a plan which he was maturing to reconstruct the Polish Government root and branch on lines similar to those prevailing in Italy. He was represented as disgusted with the parliamentary régime and bent on abolishing all popular elections of the customary sort. The Ministry, too, was said to be doomed; and the new plan was expected to be ready by Autumn.

HUNGARY—The St. Gothard affair—the controversy arising out of the discovery last New Year's Day of five carloads of disguised machine guns ostensibly on their way to Poland but suspected of being designed for Hungary—was officially settled on June 7, when the Council of the League of Nations expressed regret that the actual destination of the guns could not be ascertained, criticized Hungary for precipitately destroying the evidence, reiterated the full right of the Council to order an immediate investigation of any incident of the kind, thanked the committee that had inquired into the case, and dismissed the subject. The net result was, at best, nothing more effective than a warning to Hungary—and other States—against similar happenings in the future.

Action of the Council in another controversy in which Hungary is involved was only slightly less definitive. This is the long-standing quarrel with Rumania over lands in Transylvania sequestered by Rumania at the end of the war. This matter has been on the Council's agenda for some five years, and a plan of settlement has been repeatedly offered. At the Council's session in June a resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect that the Council, while deeply regretting that the two States had failed to reach an agreement, and without wishing to exclude any other friendly arrangement, was of the opinion that the dispute ought to be settled by the parties themselves upon the basis which the Council had recommended.

One of the strangest dramas of post-war history approached its end a few weeks ago when Count Michael Karolyi, one-time Premier of Hungary, and once the richest man in the Balkans, was informed by telegraph that he had been judicially declared a pauper and admitted to the privileges of the poor law. The Count's extensive estates were confiscated by the Horthy Government in 1922 on the ground that he had been a traitor to the old Habsburg Government. He has ever since been endeavoring to recover them. Through friends he has announced that he will make no further efforts in this direction, but, on the other hand, that he will continue his endeavors to convince the world of his innocence. He has lately been reported to be in Mexico.

GREECE—As recorded in these pages last month, the veteran Greek statesman, Eleutherios Venizelos at the end of May emerged from two years and a half of retirement in Crete, and made known his intention once more to play an active rôle in his country's politics. Assuming leadership of the Liberal Party (in succession to Finance Minister Kafandaris), he forced the Royalist elements to declare their policy and manoeuvred them into a position where they cannot do much but keep quiet for a good while to come. Near the end of June he inspired a Cabinet crisis by denouncing the financial measures of the Government and causing the Liberal Party to withdraw its support. Kafandaris forthwith resigned as Finance Minister—the second time he had done so within the month. The crisis proved prolonged, and events moved in a direction which, it was generally believed, would mean a return of Venizelos himself to the Premiership. No stable government, he urged upon President Kondouriotis, could be formed with the existing party alignment in Parliament, and on that ground he urged an immediate dissolution. The Royalist elements, however, opposed the plan.

A strike of tobacco workers in various Greek cities and towns in the middle of June threatened at one stage to develop into a general strike, but failed to do so. Workers' organizations in the various industries were unable to agree upon concerted action. The feared naval mutiny at Mitylene and elsewhere also failed to materialize.

Vilna, the Lithuanian Alsace

By MILTON OFFUTT

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THE political instability of the Baltic area continued to manifest itself during June by rumblings in the press, recriminations, and the rattling of the Lithuanian sabre. Vilna continued to be the focus of the disturbance, although there were indications of a renewal of agitation about the Polish Corridor and Memel. The proclamation of a new Constitution by the Lithuanian Government on May 26 resulted in the following note from the Polish Foreign Minister to Premier Voldemaras of Lithuania on May 31:

The Lithuanian Government recently promulgated in its official gazette a revised text of the Lithuanian Constitution. The attention of the Polish Government has been drawn to Article V, proclaiming Vilna the capital of the Lithuanian Republic.

I am compelled to state that the Polish Government regards the insertion in the Constitution of the Lithuanian State of an amendment directed against the territorial integrity of Poland as a hollow manifestation, devoid of legal significance or practical effect. A unilateral act of the Lithuanian Government is powerless to alter Polish rights in the Vilna territory, which were derived from a solemn vote of representatives of the local inhabitants in the Vilna Assembly, were confirmed by a decision of the Polish Sejm, and were recognized in the resolution of the Ambassadors' Conference relating to the frontiers of Poland, which was adopted in fulfillment of requests of the Polish and Lithuanian Governments, and later was placed on record by the Council of the League of Nations. The amendment is also contrary to the spirit and letter of the Covenant of the League, more particularly of Article X, which binds Lithuania and Poland. I am forced to observe with displeasure that the promulgation of this amendment can only serve to impede and embitter present negotiations, of which the aim is to establish relations that will make possible between two neighboring States the good understanding on which peace depends, and must therefore be regarded as contrary to the resolution of the Council of the League adopted on Dec. 10, 1927. I take the liberty of reminding you, in conclusion, that the Polish Government's obligation to respect the integrity of the Lithuanian Republic imposes a like obligation on the Lithuanian Government.

On June 18, according to the correspon-

dent of the London *Times*, Premier Voldemaras of Lithuania rattled his sabre most vigorously. Before the Congress of Lithuanian sharpshooters, a volunteer military organization, which played a conspicuous part in the war for Lithuanian independence and in the occupation of Memel, M. Voldemaras, in an impassioned speech, referred to Vilna. He urged his hearers to realize that the list of sharpshooters who had fallen upon the field of battle was not yet complete, for it would be the fate of the sharpshooters to fight still further for Lithuanian independence and Vilna and to add new names to the roll. He declared, according to the *Times* dispatch, that he looked forward to the day when the Lithuanian sharpshooters, with banners flying, would enter Vilna.

Before the same gathering Colonel Daukantas, Lithuanian Minister of War, also spoke. The burden of his address was, that while Lithuanians did not want bloodshed, they would defend their independence to victory or annihilation.

The Polish stand on Vilna caused the rejection, on July 9, of a compact submitted by Poland to Lithuania, providing for non-aggression and a court of arbitration. Lithuania will again appeal to the League in September for a revision of the Vilna settlement.

DENMARK—The Danish Government, during June, decided to form a non-partisan commission to investigate the causes of political unrest long apparent in part of the Slesvig territory of South Jutland, which was transferred from Germany to Denmark as a result of the plebiscite of 1920. The farming population of that district had been suffering for some years from financial difficulties which were made grounds for widespread political agitation and exploited in the German press as an indication of dissatisfaction with Danish rule. In forming the investigating commission the Danish Government followed a

suggestion made by J. P. Nielsen, a Socialist member of the Danish Parliament, last October.

A summary of the situation, issued in Zurich on June 4 by the Secretariat of the Socialist and Labor International, states that there were four factions in the Slesvig territory, including representatives of autonomist tendencies of Danish nationality as also of the opposite opinion of German nationality. Rallying cries like "Economic Rapprochement With Germany" and "Home Rule" are being aired. The grievances are based upon the increase in the burden of debts as a consequence of the gold standard policy brought to a successful close on Jan. 1, 1927. The increasing number of sales of land under foreclosure of mortgages are bringing these grievances to a head. The demands put forward include reduction of the burden of debt by 40 or 50 per cent. at the expense of the State, and even an autonomous Slesvig, eventually to be combined in a customs union with Germany.

"To some extent all grievances are placed at the door of Danish rule. It seems, however, that the present difficulties are inherent in the economic policy that has been followed by the farm owners themselves. They profited by the boom in agricultural produce from 1920 to 1924 and are now suffering from the same slump as the rest of the country, with the additional difficulty resulting from the fact that special facilities for the raising of loans were provided for and made use of by these districts."

A treaty of arbitration between the Kingdom of Denmark and the United States of America was signed at Copenhagen on June 20.

SWEDEN—With brilliant ceremonies King Gustaf of Sweden on June 16 celebrated his seventieth birthday, and at the same time the twentieth anniversary of his ascension to the throne. As a thanks offering for having kept Sweden out of the war and for strengthening of the Scandinavian ties, a jubilee fund of more than \$1,250,000 was presented to the monarch, who in turn announced his intention of donating the handsome sum, which had been contributed by Swedes at home and abroad, to the combating of cancer in Sweden.

Aside from his general popularity, the

two outstanding acts of statesmanship which endeared the ageing monarch to his subjects were his declaration of the neutrality of Sweden at the outset of the World War, and his initiative in arranging the historical meeting in Malmoe, in the south of Sweden, in December, 1914, of the three heads of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, which resulted in an agreement enabling the three Scandinavian countries to present a unified front in the difficult situation confronting them as the war developed. This led to subsequent meetings in Copenhagen and Stockholm to cement further a newborn Scandinavianism of the truest sense, and in 1917 King Gustaf took the initiative in calling a similar royal conclave in Oslo, then Christiania, the capital of Norway.

An indication of King Gustaf's popularity among all political factions is given in an article in *Dagens Nyheter* of Stockholm written by the Socialist, Verner Ryden, former Minister of Education. Dwelling upon the monarch's keen interest in all issues to be decided upon at the Cabinet meetings, Mr. Ryden stressed his particular attention to all questions concerning foreign relations. The King's experience and good judgment and his personal connections abroad, he said, had many times helped him to solve intricate problems along these lines. During the war King Gustaf's concern was centred upon the systematic distribution of food. All major appointments are made by King Gustaf, who has proved to be a shrewd judge of character.

As the Summer campaign in Sweden before the general election of September got well under way, it became evident to political observers that the approaching contest for seats in the Riksdag would be a particularly significant and bitter one. The Social Democrats, under the leadership of Per Albin Hansson, former Minister of Defense, who controlled 105 seats in the outgoing Riksdag, made an alliance with the Communists, headed by Zaeta Hoeglund. As this group needed to gain only seven more seats in September to outnumber the "moderates," who included in their bloc the Conservatives, Liberals and Agrarians, it was considered likely that the Socialist combination would gain a working majority in the Parliament, a result which might have important political consequences.

Soviet Russia's Campaign to Strengthen Communist Principles

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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ASIDE from the dramatic trial of the Donetz mining engineers which has figured so prominently in the news dispatches to the foreign press, recent events in Russia have been of little significance considered as isolated happenings; they acquire meaning, however, when taken in relation to each other and to the Donetz trial, which has held the centre of the Russian stage. Viewed as indications of the trend of policy under Stalin's leadership, they afford convincing proof that the Soviet Government has no present intention of surrendering its Communist principles. On the contrary, the events of the past few weeks seem to have been directed, as far as conscious direction was possible, with the purpose of arousing renewed zeal and devotion to the faith within the rank and file of the party.

The Russian press has recorded briefly, and without comment, numerous executions of *Kulaki* [rich peasants] accused of obstructing grain requisitions in the villages, or of being concerned in the assassination of Soviet agents. There is little evidence that the obstructionist tactics pursued by these middle-class peasants who feel the crushing effect of Communist policy have reached the dimensions of open revolt. As yet the rebellion has been scattered and sporadic, rather an indication of individual desperation than of class conspiracy. Even so, it is not regarded lightly by the Soviet authorities. Bukharin's speech of May 15 promising ruthless extermination of all *Kulaki* guilty of active opposition was followed on June 2 by Stalin's bitter attack upon the members of the party who counselled moderation in the treatment of this peasant group. Both Commissars made a direct charge that the middle peasantry were dangerous potential enemies of the Communist régime, whose existence as a class must be destroyed. Though they ex-

pect to employ severe punitive measures in cases of open revolt, the Soviet authorities rely upon projects of economic reorganization for the final removal of this new-born capitalist group; destructive taxes, harassing regulations, favoritism to the "proletarian" peasants, are calculated to make its position economically unsupportable. At the same time vast projects for collective farming under State management—the so-called "grain factories"—are to provide a new economic form for agriculture which will turn the agrarian population into a wage-earning class, similar in their life conditions to the proletarians of the cities, in whom the vitality of the Communist faith inheres. These complementary phases of policy, announced earlier in the year and restated by Bukharin and Stalin in the speeches mentioned above, were pressed forward during the month of June.

Of similar significance as disclosing unqualified adherence to doctrinaire agrarian policy was the disbanding of the Pan-Soviet Congress of Collective Agriculturalists by the Russian Government on June 5. Much importance had been attached to this Congress during its formative stages. Composed of delegates from the principal sections of the Soviet Union—the Ukraine, the Caucasus, White Russia, Uzbekistan, Turkmanistan, as well as Russia Proper—it promised to serve as a medium for the unification of policy over the 7,000,000 square miles of territory comprised in the Soviet Federation. Chosen to represent those involved in the new economic system of agriculture, these delegates were expected to respond sympathetically to the policies of the Government. Yet so refractory was the attitude of the Congress that its initial meeting set for June 1 was postponed. When called together a week later under orders to abstain from criticism and devote their energies solely to perfecting the means

for carrying out the Government's policy, the 400 delegates persisted in their demands for a relaxation of State control. Whereupon, the Congress was summarily disbanded. The *Izvestiya* attributed the failure of the Congress to faulty composition; but the incident is evidence both of the determination of the Soviet authorities and of the resistance which their policy evokes over a wide area.

Official reports on the progress of the grain crops have been confusing and, to a degree, self-contradictory during the past few weeks. Crop statistics are dull matter to the average reader; but with regard to Russia they outweigh in importance all other items of information combined. In them is compressed a record of the success or failure of Soviet policy, an index to the economic welfare of Russia's 140,000,000 people, a forecast of the future of the great Communist experiment, for there is no department of Russia's economic life whose vitality is not drawn from the power of the farms to provide a surplus of food for the industrial population and for export. During the Spring months pessimistic crop estimates aroused evident uneasiness in official circles, where a failure of the grain supply is recognized as a premonition of the downfall of the present régime. On June 4 Stalin, admitting the virtual disappearance of the export surplus, explained the situation as the inevitable outcome of the system of small peasant proprietorship, which has increased consumption on the farm to six-sevenths of the entire crop as compared with one-half before the war. A news dispatch from Warsaw on June 10 described the situation as so grave that Stalin had taken steps to create a triumvirate composed of Kamenev, Zinoviev—leaders of the opposition—and himself, to be endowed with dictatorial powers to grapple with the problem. Though this statement was not confirmed from official sources, subsequent pronouncements by Soviet authorities, especially that of M. Chubar, President of the Ukrainian Council of Commissars, likening existing conditions to those of the famine year of 1921, emphasized the gravity of the situation. Then, on June 16, these gloomy predictions were dismissed by the Soviet Statistical Bureau in a statement which asserted that this year's harvest is "on the

whole 12 per cent. above the average." This sudden reversal of attitude, though partially explained by the favorable weather of May and June, does not harmonize with the known fact that grain collections have suffered a sharp and progressive decline during the past three months. No final conclusion on this important subject can be drawn until further information is available; but it seems safe to infer that the crisis is not yet past.

These occurrences in agriculture have been given first place in this survey of current developments in Russia because of the overwhelming importance of agrarian economy in the social system of that country. As stated above, the attention of the outside world has been focused upon another matter—the dramatic and colorful trial of the Donetz mining engineers. The Donetz basin comprises the richest of Russia's coal resources. For many years it has been apparent that things were going badly with this important industry. Production figures were declining, costs were rising, and the mines were visited by a succession of calamities which destroyed life and capital equipment. The outside world accepted all this as a matter of course—the inevitable consequences of Socialist inefficiency. In 1926 representatives of the American firm of consulting engineers, Stuart, James and Cook, called in as experts to direct the reorganization of the industry, encountered a mysterious and undefinable opposition which largely nullified their efforts. Suspicions regarding the good faith of the administrators of the mine properties had been gradually spreading, when suddenly the Russian world was electrified by the wholesale arrest of the mining officials, both big and little. On May 18, 53 prisoners, three of them German citizens, were placed on trial charged with deliberate sabotage, an offense whose extreme form is punishable by death under Russian law. Some of the prisoners confessed their guilt, revealing with much circumstantial detail that for years they had been bribed by an organization of the former mine owners, with headquarters in Paris, to wreck the administration of the mines. The purpose behind the plot, according to these confessions, was so completely to discredit State operation that the mines might be allowed

to revert to private ownership. After six weeks of colorful history the trial was concluded in the early morning of July 6. Eleven death sentences were decreed by the court, but with the recommendation that six of these be commuted, on the ground that they had aided the prosecution. All three of the German citizens were freed, two by acquittal and one virtually on parole. Of the other Russians a few were paroled, but thirty-eight of them were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging from one to ten years. The five who faced the death penalty were: Budney, Krishanovsky, Gorlietsky, Yusevich and Boyarinov, who were executed on July 10. The six recommended to clemency were: Beresovsky, Matov, Kasarimov, Boyarchinov, Shadlun and Brantanovsky. Among those condemned to prison were M. Rabinovich and M. Kuzma, two of Russia's greatest engineers.

The tense interest with which the trial has been followed by the people of Russia and the outside world may be attributed in part to its international bearings. The charges against the prisoners implied a suggestion of the connivance of France. Germany, too, was interested officially by reason of the fact that three of her citizens were fighting for their lives at the bar of proletarian justice. But these aspects of the matter, though emphasized by the secrecy of the sessions in camera reserved for their consideration, only partially account for the intensity of feeling provoked by the trial. There is every evidence that the spectacle was dressed up by the Soviet authorities with an eye to its histrionic effect. The arrangements for broadcasting the testimony of witnesses and prisoners, the abundant supply of facilities for press correspondents, the photographic record of dramatic incidents, the theatrical demeanor of the officials, have combined to bestow upon the event the character of propaganda. Through the trial the leaders of Russia have served notice upon their own people and the outside world that they are not wanting in vigilance nor slow to take action in defense of the principles of Lenin.

These evidences of renewed Communist zeal are supported by other recent occurrences. After a careful campaign of publicity through *Pravda*, official organ of the Communist Party, the Central Executive

Committee of the Russian Government announced on June 3 a thorough and comprehensive overhauling of the entire bureaucracy, promising ruthless elimination of all place holders weak in the Communist faith. This announcement was broadcast throughout Russia as an appeal for cooperation to all party members. Coincidentally the Communist International gave to the world a new draft program of action which reaffirmed its faith in Communist fundamentals—violent revolution, temporary proletarian dictatorship, eventual transition from State Socialism to pure Communism—and declared uncompromising warfare on all moderate Socialist factions. Within Russia a select group of aggressive party members has been constituted a new department for Communist work in the countryside charged with the evangelization of the apathetic peasantry.

Nor has the religious life of the country been overlooked. By conviction atheists, the rulers of Soviet Russia have heretofore attempted to weaken the hold of the Church upon the masses of the population, not by futile direct assault upon that firmly entrenched institution, but by the more subtle method of dividing the orthodox priesthood into warring factions and encouraging the growth of non-conformist movements. These methods, coupled with complete separation of Church and State and legal subordination of the priesthood to the congregation, have destroyed the political power of the Church. But its spiritual influence has remained; and against this the leaders of the Communist Party have now launched a semi-religious movement among their own followers. Loyal members, especially of the younger generation, are urged to take vows of temperance in the use of liquor, and to pledge themselves to austerity in sex conduct and to abstention from impure and profane speech, as an offset to the growing influence of the church societies in the lives of young people. A tightening of the divorce laws and an increased severity of punishment for crimes inspired by jealousy give official support to these efforts to improve the moral character of the party. A new decree of June 16, while reaffirming religious freedom in purely devotional matters, hampers the work of the churches

among young people by forbidding Sunday Schools and literary and musical societies.

In foreign relations, little has happened to change Russia's previous position. The tension between Russia and Poland created last year by the assassination in Warsaw of Voikov, Soviet Plenipotentiary Representative, and increased by the attempt last May upon the life of Lizarev, trade delegate to the Soviet Union, is still the subject of diplomatic correspondence. The Russian Government, however, has given assurance within the month of its firm intention to respect the sovereignty and independence of all the new Baltic States, including Poland. Negotiations with Greece over a commercial treaty, which broke down in

May, have not yet been revived, and these two countries remain still without official commercial relations. New evidence of Great Britain's animosity is shown in the aggressive police campaign against Communism in Egypt and the repeated charges of trouble making by Soviet agents in India. Perhaps the most significant event of the month from the standpoint of Anglo-Russian relations has been the conclusion of treaties uniting Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan in an alliance of amity. This alliance is complementary to Russia's treaties with each of these States individually, and strengthens the Soviet influence in the border States of Southwestern Asia and Asia Minor.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

Turkey's Adoption of the Arabic Alphabet

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

IT will perhaps turn out to be the case that among all the changes which the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, under the leadership of President Mustapha Kemal Pasha, Ismet Pasha and their associates, has made to the present time, that one which is of most far-reaching and lasting importance, is the resolution to proceed as rapidly as possible toward the adoption of the Latin alphabet.

While this move is an innovation for Turkey, it has been talked of for at least seventy-five years. Many arguments have been presented in its favor, among which the principal ones are that the Latin alphabet is better adapted for expressing the sounds of the Turkish language than is the Arabic alphabet, and that the use of the Latin letters will make the learning of the Turkish language far easier for the peoples of the Western world, not to speak of the Turks themselves.

Something like 90 per cent. of the Turks of the world have written their existing literature with Arabic characters. That alphabet writes mainly consonants, leaving vowels either to be guessed or to be indicated incompletely by diacritical marks.

Such a system suits the Semitic languages fairly well, since most of their words contain three consonants, and vowel modifications can be indicated with comparative ease. The Turkish languages, on the other hand, have sprung from a monosyllabic foundation, and in the development of grammatical forms have given great importance to vowel sounds. An alphabet which regularly expresses vowels can represent these languages much more satisfactorily.

The adoption of the Arabic alphabet coincided with the acceptance of the Mohammedan religion. In this connection arise the principal objections to the change that has just been made. Coming into direct contact with Persians and Arabs, the Turks at once established literary connections with the entire Mohammedan civilization. Possessing at the outset the limited vocabulary of a desert people, they enriched it by the addition of large numbers of Arabic and Persian words. While nowadays the Ottoman Turks desire to eliminate borrowed words as far as possible, they are obliged to retain a vast number, such, for instance, as large groups connected with religion, law and *belles-*

lettres. When a Turk, under the former system, learned his own language well, he had made already a considerable beginning in learning Persian and Arabic. If now he takes another alphabet, and ceases to use the Arabic alphabet, he erects a barrier between himself and his co-religionists. Some Turks by mere conservative tradition, and others by reasoning along the lines just laid down, feel that it is impious and contrary to faith and morals to abandon the characters of the language in which the Koran was revealed. Those are not wanting who claim that the difference as regards ease of learning between the two systems is much less than is ordinarily supposed. Even the boasted superiority in the matter of writing vowels is largely illusory. In English the letter "A" stands for something like six different vowel sounds. In adopting three years ago the Latin alphabet, the Turks of Azerbaijan dropped the consonant "W," and added seven characters, of which four are vowel sounds.

The governing group at Angora is not moved by an argument which emphasizes a close relationship between the Turks and the Arabs. They are impressed often by the opinions of those who feel that the Arabic connection has been far too close, and that the Turks have more to gain than to lose by breaking it as far as possible. Nor does the connection with the whole Islamic world appear to them to possess value. The Christian world is able to recognize a large degree of unity in spite of using various languages and various alphabets. A difficulty which carries more weight comes from the fact that all Turkish documents, and no small accumulation of literature in many forms, exist in manuscripts and books where Arabic characters are used.

Apparently the argument that has carried the day is the increased ease of contact with the Occidental world. If the leaders of the new Turkey desire a separation from the Arabic and Islamic connection, they desire eagerly to become a part of the Western civilization. If their people are to become acquainted with Western science, politics, and philosophy, a new terminology must be adopted. Since this terminology is already expressed in Latin characters, it can be transferred with great

ease if the Turks adopt these characters.

As the pattern of their weaving is gradually disclosed, it clearly possesses unity of design. The fez and the turban have been abandoned and replaced by the hat. The method of writing numbers is to conform to that of the Western world. The civil laws have been taken from Switzerland and Italy. It is even recommended that the interiors of mosques be transformed to resemble Protestant churches. Instead of prayer rugs, stools will be provided. A set of ready-made sermons has already been issued to the clergy. Perhaps the hymn-book and the pipe-organ are not far away. There is much agitation for changing the day of rest and worship from Friday to Sunday. In fact the character of the day has already been largely changed, since for Mohammedans Friday has never been particularly a day of rest: Turkish law has lately made it such.

The transformations upon which the Turks have entered appear to be extensive beyond parallel. Until lately the changes in Japan have been the marvel of the world. But the Japanese have not ventured to transform their system of writing, which is even clumsier than the present system of writing Turkish, now have they so deliberately turned their back upon the religious views of their people. It is quite possible that the Turks are going too fast.

After years of negotiation, during which several deadlocks were reached, the agreement regarding the manner of payment of the Ottoman pre-war debt was signed on June 14 in Paris. The essential point in the matter is the payment of money by the Turks. According to the agreement, if sufficient bond-holders ratify, and if the Grand National Assembly approves, then on Dec. 1, 1928, a first payment will be made. A bond-holder who accepts this payment thereby approves the agreement, and will receive another payment before May 25, 1929.

EGYPT—A political crisis began in the middle of June, when it became evident that the Coalition Cabinet could not continue to work harmoniously. The first to resign was Mohammed Pasha Mahmud, who was followed on June 19 by Gaafar Pasha Wali. Thus the portfolios of Finance

and War were left vacant. The Prime Minister conferred with the King, but no action was taken, and presently two members of the Wafd, or Nationalist Party, also resigned. It was said that the resignations took place primarily because the Prime Minister was accustomed to make important decisions after consultation only with the Minister of Communications.

A bitter warfare broke out in the newspapers, and accusations were printed, supported by documents, in which the personal integrity of Prime Minister Nahas Pasha and of other prominent Wafdists was called into question. They were accused of accepting a large fee in order to use their political influence to decide a legal question. The Nationalist Party voted confidence in the Prime Minister, but the King requested his resignation on June 24. The Prime Minister refused to resign, and on the following day the King dismissed the Ministry on the ground that it had been formed from a coalition which was no longer in existence.

The Egyptian Chamber of Deputies voted once more the payment of \$3,750,000, as Egypt's contribution toward the cost of administration in the Sudan. A reservation was repeated that it was desirable to settle as soon as possible the amount of the debt from the Sudan to Egypt, and the way in which this debt shall be paid.

SYRIA—The Constituent Assembly met in Damascus on June 9. M. Ponsot, the French High Commissioner, opened the meeting, stating that when the Constitution had been elaborated a treaty would be drawn defining the relations of Syria and France, and giving Syria its rightful place among the nations. Sheik Taj ed-Din, head of the Provisional Government, replied. He denied reports that the text of the proposed Constitution had been dictated by France, and declared that the Assembly had full freedom to elaborate a Constitution which would insure national sovereignty.

The Assembly consists of sixty-nine delegates, who are nearly all accounted Nationalists. They chose as President of the Assembly Hashim Bey Atassi, who was formerly a Governor under the Turkish rule, and who, from March to July of 1920,

was Prime Minister for Emir Feisal, now King of Iraq. He was later deported by High Commissioner de Jouvenel for his Nationalist activities. The Nationalists were reported to be anxious to avoid questions which might cause friction with the Mandatory Power. They were said to favor the election as King of another Emir Feisal, the second son of King Ibn Saud of the Hejaz and Nejd, now serving as Viceroy of Mecca. It was hinted, however, that the Mandatory Power would prefer the formation of a republic, with a Moslem President chosen from among the people of Syria.

PALESTINE—The Jewish Agency Commission, created a year ago, after visiting Palestine and studying all phases of Zionist organization, met in England, between June 9 and June 18, and prepared a memorandum with sweeping recommendations. They suggested very careful attention to immigration, with close selection of persons who might be allowed to enter Palestine. They estimated that the cultivable land of Palestine might be subdivided into 33,000 irrigated farms and 50,000 non-irrigated farms. About 8 per cent. of these farms are now in Jewish hands. They recommended that no new colonies should be established until funds were in hand to take proper care of existing colonies; that systematic afforestation should be practiced, that the present system of taxation should be modified, that industry should be encouraged actively, with some measure of protection for "infant industries"; that education and public health should receive increased support, that laborers should be cared for. The committee estimated that an annual budget of \$5,000,000 should be provided for the next five years, to be divided between consolidation of present enterprises, additional land purchases, education, aid to hospitals, new colonization, and so forth. Strict economy was urged.

Lieut. Col. Symes, recently Chief Secretary of the Government of Palestine, appeared on June 15 before the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. He affirmed that in spite of obstacles important progress had been made in Palestine. A civic spirit was developing. The

Government had in preparation a series of reforms which, it was expected, would give both agriculture and industry a firmer foundation. It was hoped that taxation could be reduced. The relations between the Jews and the Arabs, though not entirely satisfactory, had been improving.

The Board of Governors and the Academic Council of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem met in London early in June. It was resolved to proceed as rapidly as possible toward establishing courses for degrees. The Faculty of Arts was to be instituted immediately, and of Science not later than 1932. A budget of \$270,000 was provided for the ensuing year.

AFGHANISTAN—King Amanullah and Queen Suriya ended their remarkable tour by visits to Angora and Teheran. Not only did the royal couple exchange greetings, separately of course, with men and women of the two neighboring Moslem countries, but time was taken to draw up acts of amity and non-aggression, and to

provide for raising the rank of their mutual diplomatic representatives to that of Ambassador.

Protocols were signed at Teheran between Persia and Afghanistan and Persia and Turkey, promising conciliatory action in case of war between one of the signatories and a third Power. Afghanistan remains stricter than Turkey as regards prohibition laws. No intoxicating liquor is to be brought into the country, with the exception of restricted quantities which may be brought in for the exclusive use of foreigners.

ARABIA—The Holy Carpet was made in India this year upon order of King Ibn Saud. It was received at Jiddah on May 22 by a deputation of high officials with much rejoicing.

PERSIA—Parliament has voted an annual appropriation of \$150,000 for six years for the purpose of sending 100 Persian students to Europe each year.

THE FAR EAST

The New Chinese Government

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

A NEW national capital, a new flag, new names for Peking and Chihli, a new declaration of unity, and most auspicious of all, a month of actual cooperation between the important leaders of the Kuomintang, were the evidences that a new day of peace and reconstruction had dawned for China with the Nationalist capture of Peking. Nanking, assumed by the Nationalists as their capital in 1927, was declared to be the capital of China, while the name of Peking was altered to Peip'ing (pronounced bayping) meaning "northern peace." Thus the "king" (capital) of the north gave way to the "king" of the "Nan" or South, as it had given way before, 1368-1409, when the earlier Ming Emperors, thinking to disparage the glorious creation of Kublai Khan, made Peking a mere fu

or prefecture and called it, as the Nationalists now are calling it, Peip-ing. Unfortunately the splendid palaces formerly at Nanking were leveled to the ground during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, so that the city, while more spacious within its walls than Peking, entirely lacks its magnificence. On the other hand Nanking is more centrally located than Peking, standing between Shanghai, the greatest commercial city, and Hankow, the principal centre of iron and steel manufacture, and it has been more closely in touch with the movements that created and have sought to maintain the republic than Peking. Foreigners should welcome removal of the legations to Nanking, which is more easily accessible and more easily protected than the former capital of the North, reduced to secondary importance.

From the new capital the new Government issued its maiden manifesto in conciliatory but firm spirit. It said that the military period of the revolution was closing, that the new State now to be built would be founded upon the three principles of Sun Yat-sen (nationalism, democracy and the people's welfare), and that in it there would be no place for either militarism or communism. It requested that negotiations begin at once for abrogation of the unequal treaties, reminding the "spokesmen of the Powers" that they had recently "expressed their willingness to negotiate new equal treaties." It disclaimed any intention of disregarding any obligations entered into upon terms of equality and expressed the belief that new, equalitarian relations would assure increase of trade and a safer existence for foreigners within the country. In Washington, D. C., Dr. C. C. Wu pressed upon Secretary Kellogg the redemption of his promise to negotiate for revision with any Government capable of representing China.

The quiet transfer of authority was in strange contrast with the stormy biennium of civil warfare which led up to it. Governor Yen Hsi-shan was allowed to add Chihli Province (now to be called Hopei)—north of the river—to his tuchanate of Shansi and the northern special districts of Suiyuan, Chahar and Jehol. Neither General Chiang Kai-shek nor General Feng Yu-hsiang appeared in Peking until the first week of July, and then not to alter the administration of the city but to discuss plans for the future and to join with Yen and General Li Chung-jen in a pilgrimage to the temporary resting place of Sun Yat-sen's body, the beautiful temple Pi Yun Ssu in the Western Hills. "Can such amity last?" was the question asked on all sides. "Will each big man be big enough to rule his own province or group of provinces without seeking to dominate the country?" The situation was more promising than at any time since the resignation of the presidency by Sun Yat-sen in 1912. A loose confederation of tuchunates, their heads co-operating in a national executive council or directory, seemed an entirely possible and practical scheme of government, provided each leader were willing to sacrifice something for harmony, and provided the

thirst for immediate parliamentarism which wrecked the republic in 1913 did not reassert itself too strongly. The appearance of General Pai Chung-hsi, "communist" killer of Hankow, was an unfavorable development at Peking. He planned to bring 120,000 southern soldiers to Peking, which is already supplied with troops and was quite confident of the abilities and good will of Governor Yen.

Only secondary in importance to the inauguration of a new régime at Peking was the death of the Manchurian war lord, Chang Tso-lin, and his son's assumption of his place. The elder Chang died of injuries sustained when his railway car was blown up while passing under the bridge which carries the South Manchuria Railway over the Peking-Mukden line just outside Mukden. Japanese reports declared that Chang's death occurred the day he was injured, but officially death occurred on June 20. A joint investigation by Chinese and Japanese of the responsibility for the assassination resulted in a division of opinion. The Chinese generally held Japan responsible for the crime though unable to produce proof. This attitude, based upon the notion that Japan would expect to influence the creation of a weaker headship over Manchuria, was inconsistent with the general Chinese satisfaction that Chang's death left the way open for the Nationalists to bring Manchuria under their control.

Chang Tso-lin's estate was estimated as \$90,000,000 Mex., one-ninth of which the new super-tuchun, Chang Hsueh-liang, announced would be devoted to education. "Young Chang" is an aggressive but likable man in his twenties, and he displayed, in his first public statement, a statesman-like attitude, expressing his wish for a peaceful arrangement with the Nationalists. He insisted, however, upon retaining Manchuria as an autonomous unit. Several years ago the writer talked over with the young tuchun the problem of China's future, and found him well informed upon western types of government and inclined to advocate a loose confederation for China during the transition period, with a central Government composed of regional leaders and exercising only such essential functions as the conduct of foreign relations. His

youth renders his lengthy tenure doubtful.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek resigned his dual office of Commander-in-Chief and Chairman of the Nationalist Military Council on June 9, stating that "the military phase of the revolution has been completed, rendering unnecessary further warfare and automatically terminating the offices." Back of the stated reason lay the realization of Chiang that with the capture of Peking his own position would become much more difficult, involving him in controversy over the partition of the country into tuchunal spheres of influence. He preferred to meet such issues in his post as Chairman of the Political Council. General Feng Yu-hsiang urged Chiang to withdraw his resignation, threatening to follow suit if he refused. The Nanking Government declined to accept Chiang's resignation, whereupon he left for Ningpo.

A diplomatic incident grew out of a disagreement between a promise by Nanking of safe conduct for a brigade of Northern troops left to maintain interim order in Peking and General Feng Yu-hsiang's action in authorizing its arrest and imprisonment. As the promise had been given at the request of certain Foreign Ministers, including the American Minister, John Van Antwerp MacMurray, they sought the release of the brigade, but were unable to get into touch with General Feng. A note of protest to the Nanking Government produced the reply that the Nationalist commanders at the front had been instructed to honor the safe conduct.

The Chinese portion of the City of Tientsin fell into Nationalist hands on June 12 without fighting. General Fu Tso-yi represented Yen Hsi-shan in taking over the city from former Governor Chang Tsung-chang of Shantung and General Chu Yupu. The Northern forces were permitted to withdraw northward. As usual in such circumstances the retiring forces looted native shops. Unfortunately the Chinese area of Tientsin was not immediately occupied by Nationalist troops, and the result was a night of bloodshed and robbery following the departure of the Northern generals and their more reliable regiments. Police sought to restore order but were outnumbered. The foreign concessions were not affected by the disorder. At Tientsin

the Japanese commander sought the support of other foreign units for a plan to forbid Chinese forces to approach within seven miles of the city. They decided against the plan and foreign troops confined their patrol work to the concessions and to certain essential public utilities—the water-works and power house—and one of the railway stations. The arrival of 10,000 Shansi troops on June 15 restored order in the native city.

The Nanking Government's reply to Minister MacMurray's letter of May 18 requesting that only trustworthy troops be sent into the Peking and Tientsin areas was delivered to Consul General Cunningham at Shanghai on June 2. Expressed in courteous terms, it declared that the Nationalist Government had enforced and would continue to "enforce the most rigid discipline and extend full protection to the lives and property of American residents." It went on to state the hope that the American Government would evacuate its troops from Tientsin as promptly as possible. The Department of State let it be known that evacuation was not at present in contemplation. It declined to state its program with reference to the *de jure* recognition of the Nanking Government.

Dr. C. T. Wang, well known in the United States, became the Nationalist Foreign Minister shortly after the resignation of Huang Fu. Like the latter he is close to Feng Yu-hsiang but is also on friendly terms with Japan. Dr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, the popular and highly respected Chinese Minister to the United States, was continued in his position. Dr. Wang was faced at the outset with the problem of settling the Tsinan case. Several mistaken news reports of new demands in connection with a settlement were corrected satisfactorily by the Japanese, who, however, continued to demand apologies, indemnities for alleged attacks and barbarities, and the punishment of responsible officers. They asserted that upon a settlement of the case Japanese troops would be withdrawn. It was anticipated that negotiations for the settlement would consume two months. Meanwhile numerous private persons and organizations in and out of China were issuing flaming denunciations of Japanese conduct at Tsinan and calling upon the world to

sustain international law and morality against such action. The Japanese admitted the slaughter of a number of Chinese in the office of the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs and of a considerable number of patients in a hospital, but declared that in both cases they had been fired upon first. They also presented evidence of the brutal murder of eleven civilian Japanese, including two women, in Tsinan. The Japanese population of Shantung is 18,000, the public interest is \$31,000,000, and the private investment is \$80,000,000. A dispatch from Tokio on July 10 stated that Japan had ordered 7,000 troops recalled from Shantung and would ask amends for the outrages in Tsinan.

The Japanese Foreign Office issued the statement that the death of Chang Tso-lin and the establishment of Chang Hsueh-liang as Supertuchun of Manchuria would not affect Japanese policy. "No war in Manchuria" would continue to be the foundation principle of that policy. "Peace, even at the price of war," was Japan's primary aim, declared Y. Matsuoka, Vice President of the South Manchuria Railway. He went on: "Call that a protectorate if you will * * * but do not charge us with a desire to interfere in Chinese politics." When he spoke the apprehension was widespread that the Nationalists intended to force their way to control Manchuria if possible. Mr. Matsuoka is a seasoned Manchurian official, who knows Japan, China and the West. His concluding statement, therefore, deserves careful consideration:

Naturally we consider our interests enough reason for our action over here. However, we might as well admit that Manchuria is strategically vital to Japan—it is our first line of defense. Geographically this is true. These are the facts which, perhaps, will cause us embarrassment, but we must face the situation and admit that things are as they are.

Japanese investments in Manchuria now total \$750,000,000 gold.

The first national economic conference to be held in China was convened at Shanghai on June 21 under the Chairmanship of T. V. Soong, Nationalist Minister of Finance. A hundred representatives attended. The conference discussed the modernization of the currency, the creation of a national banking system, improvement of credit and reform of taxation.

General trade conditions in China were reported as greatly improved, due principally to more peaceful conditions in the Yangtze Valley and South China. In Shantung Province, however, famine continued, while in America the National Committee for China Famine Relief, headed by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, and with John Earl Baker, formerly adviser to the Chinese Ministry of Communications, as director of the work in China, sought to obtain \$10,000,000 for relief and subsequent measures, such as road-building, which would operate to prevent famines in the future.

The Director General of the Chinese Post-office was ordered to transfer his office to Nanking from Peking as soon as the affairs of the Peking office could be concluded.

JAPAN—The Japanese Government ordered the return of the two cruisers and twenty-seven destroyers sent to Yangtze waters in May, thus indicating its confidence in the existing régime in Central China.

A peasant named Okamura attempted to kill Premier Tanaka with a dagger at Uyeno station in Tokio on June 8. He was seized before he reached the Premier and overpowered. No motive was given for the act, but it was believed that the recent popular outcry against Baron Tanaka for asserting his own share in the resignation of Minister of Education Mizuno, as against the Emperor's interest in the matter, had inflamed the peasant's mind.

Junnosuke Inouye resigned from the Governorship of the Bank of Japan, which he had occupied since May, 1927. He felt that the panic conditions of a year ago had lost their force and that readjustment had been accomplished.

The extent of Japan's trade with the United States was exhibited by figures compiled by an authoritative agency. This country now buys 42.5 per cent. of Japan's exports and sells her 28 per cent. of her imports. Between 1913 and 1927 the trade of the United States with Japan increased 550 per cent. During that period the percentage of Japanese exports that went to Europe decreased from 23.2 to 7.42. Between 1922 and 1927 the people of the United States bought more Japanese goods than were bought by all the peoples of Asia.

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To and From Our Readers

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MAYOR THOMPSON'S "IRISHMEN"

To the Editor of Current History:

Mayor Thompson of Chicago has made an urgent plea for bringing "back into the light" of history the following "Irishmen": Generals Henry Knox, Daniel Morgan, Anthony Wayne, John Stark and William Irvine. As a descendant (ninth generation) of a Welsh immigrant to the colony of South Carolina, I have long known that Daniel Morgan was of Welsh ancestry. (See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, vol. XVIII, page 833, for the name of Wayne.) I consulted the authority above quoted (Vol. XXVIII, page 432) and found that he was born of a family that came from Yorkshire, England. Inasmuch as John Stark was born in New Hampshire in 1728, at a time when there were very few Irish immigrants in America, and the name is derived from an Anglo-Saxon adjective meaning stiff, it is extremely unlikely that he was of Irish parentage. It is well known that Knox is a common Scotch name. Irvine is the name of a town in Scotland and its variant forms of

Irving, Irwin and so forth have been known to the English people for several hundred years. The presumption, therefore, would be that General Irvine was of English or Scotch descent.

Lake Charles, La. J. SHELDON TOOMER.

* * *

INDIA'S FUTURE AND BRITISH PROPAGANDA

To the Editor of Current History:

When Englishmen do go to India they go with their heads so full of preconceived ideas and live a life so isolated socially that intercourse between the two races is rare. It is not strange, therefore, if they are not able to interpret India even after a lifelong stay. It is just this lack of understanding and sympathy on the part of the rulers of India that is the best argument for India having Home Rule. Admittedly, there is danger of chaos if the British were suddenly to evacuate the country, for India has not been prepared to administer herself; but if a policy of Indianization of the services were sincerely carried out much of the present "bitterness" and "grievance" would abate.

The Englishman wants the world to believe that in India there is merely a handful of a British defense force versus the 320,000,000 Indians. But even if a negligible number of Indians had arms some accounting would have been done over the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre. Those who have knowledge of the espionage system in India do not wonder that the authorities have such a grip over revolutionary outbreaks.

That the British domination has conferred some benefits on India none will deny; but modern India demands of the self-appointed "trustee" the recognition of her "majority" and honesty of purpose in future transactions. "In my country," said Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the great Indian patriot, "I do not wish to be appointed a Governor, but I want the power to appoint one."


Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. A. A. PINTO.

* * *

ENGLAND AND THE CIVIL WAR

To the Editor of Current History:

Mr. Stanley B. Reece in his letter in the May issue contends that the English people did not force the issue in 1776 or in the Civil War. That is not true. England was the first country to recognize the South as a belligerent and even urged armed intervention against the United States, but Russia and Prussia declined. We soldiers cursed England




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Los Angeles, Cal. S. P. SORENSON.

THE LOGIC OF PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

To the Editor of Current History:

Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland says that prohibition is a denial of personal liberty. That may be true, but the law against morphine and against murder is a denial of personal liberty. If prohibition is a denial of the individual's right to drink, the law against murder is a denial of the individual's right to kill his enemy.

If a government has a right to enforce the law against murder to protect the individual's right to live, it also has the right to enforce prohibition to protect the liberty of the individual to enjoy life without being run over and crippled or killed by drunken sots.

If the majority has no right to enforce prohibition because it would trouble the liberty of the minority, it would have no right to enforce the law against anarchy, because it would trample on the liberty of the anarchists.

CARL BALLARD.

Danville, Va.

"HOME-MANUFACTURE" DEFEATED PROHIBITION

To the Editor of Current History:

The greatest of all the evils of intemperance is the making of intoxicating liquors in the home. That is what beat prohibition in Canada. If the home had become in many cases a scene of horror under license, it grew at a frightfully increasing rate into a centre of the utmost demoralization under prohibition. I do not touch liquor nor make it and I voted for prohibition, but when the inventive genius of people came to be turned in the direction of the home manufacture of liquor I had not long to wait to see immorality as well as concealed drunkenness in the home become general. Get it out of the "home" whatever you do, or your daughters will become debauched as well as drunken. That was the reason the women of Ontario at any rate turned en masse against prohibition.

Millbrook, Ontario. JANIA RIORDAN.

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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH
ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Analyst*

THE rise in call money to 10 per cent. in the first week in July brought to a sharp focus the seriousness of the present credit situation in the United States. The sudden strain which brought about this rate, the highest since the crisis of 1920, was caused, to be sure, by the coincidence of such temporary factors as an unusually heavy demand for funds for mid-year dividend and interest disbursements, preparations by the banks throughout the country for the June 30 statement of condition as required by the Comptroller of the Currency, and the usual holiday demand for currency; and the call money rate promptly fell back to 5½ per cent. with the passing of these temporary demands. But last year and for several previous years these factors were present and yet in the entire period from 1922 to the end of 1927 the call loan rate did not even once rise above 6 per cent.

The numerous apologists for the present state of affairs explain glibly enough the temporary nature of the recent strain on the money market and are quick to point to the way in which the high rate attracted loanable funds from the interior and from abroad. They do not, however, explain why, if another period of easy money lies just ahead, borrowers are eager to pay around 6 per cent., as they have been doing recently, for loans running from one to three months.

Less spectacular but more significant, than the rise in call money, has been the recent sharp increase in rates on stock exchange time loans and on commercial paper. Time money has now risen more than two per cent., allowing for normal seasonal factors, in the last nine months; and commercial paper rates have not only risen more than one per cent. since the beginning of the current year but are now, allowing for seasonal factors, well above the 5 per cent. level. The significance of these developments lies in the fact that seldom if ever in the past have security prices continued to rise under similar circumstances.

The severe decline in stocks which made June a landmark in our financial history accomplished little more than a temporary alleviation of the growing credit strain. The decline reached its climax on June 11 in one of the most spectacular "breaks" in the history of the stock exchange. On that day the volume of trading, which in the preceding bull market had repeatedly established new high records, rose to the unheard-of figure of 5,052,790; the facilities for handling and recording transactions became completely de-

moralized; and the last transaction for the day was not recorded on the tape until nearly two hours after the exchange closed. Subsequently, however, the volume of trading shrank to between one and two million shares per day as the market recovered its poise, and stock prices, after a week of hesitation, resumed their familiar movement in an upward direction.

July opened, then, with stock prices buoyant, despite 10 per cent. call money, despite an immediate prospect of a seasonally higher money market with the approach of the crop-moving season, despite reports of improved business throughout the country which cannot but provide additional demand for credit, despite additional gold exports, despite open warnings and other influences being brought to bear on member banks by the reserve banks to induce the member banks to restrict the amount of credit being devoted to speculative activity, and despite the fact that the member banks are now more heavily indebted to the reserve banks than at any time since the post-war deflation crisis.

The behavior of the stock market at the beginning of July recalled, indeed, the time when, in 1920, Baldwin and Crucible, speculative favorites of that day, rose 15 to 20 points in a 10 per cent. call money market. On another occasion (the last day of 1905) Anaconda rose 16 points with call money at 12½ per cent. "Then, as now, certain wealthy speculators conceived that they were superior to the money market's vagaries because they had access to sources of credit which were not equally accessible to the ordinary speculator. The aftermath of the proceedings of 1920 and 1905 was not altogether happy; but present-day Wall Street will doubtless reassure itself by bringing back to mind the comforting philosophy of the new economic era which has abolished inconveniences of the past."

During the setback which the market received in June, brokers' loans were reduced about \$400,000,000. In the week ended July 4, however, they rose \$148,000,000, leaving the net reduction at only about \$250,000,000, an insignificant amount as compared with the expansion which occurred earlier in the year.

One factor in the current credit situation is likely to be less bothersome from now on. That is the gold export movement. The principal gold exchanges declined sharply in the latter part of June, owing to the higher money rates in this country than abroad, and a considerable amount of gold has already been

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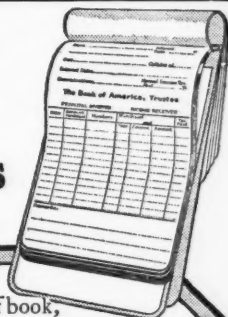
imported from Canada. Gold exports from this country, which since May 1, 1927, have now amounted to more than \$500,000,000, are likely to diminish greatly or to cease altogether for a time.

It is no longer safe, moreover, to rely indefinitely on high money rates here attracting even short-term funds from abroad. This is shown by the fact that at the end of June, when the New York market experienced the greatest strain in years, the London money market experienced similar difficulties. It is estimated that the London money market was forced to borrow at least £35,000,000, the largest amount on record for any half-yearly settlement period, from the Bank of England in the last week of June.

The Bank of England continues to add to its gold holdings. Its present reserve now stands at £173,000,000, a new high record for all time.

The long-awaited official stabilization of the French franc, at 3.91½ cents to the dollar, is now an accomplished fact, thus bringing nearly to completion the monetary stabilization of Europe. It is noteworthy that the French Government did not require any foreign loan nor did the Bank of France find it necessary or even expedient to obtain a central bank credit such as was secured by central banks of other countries in connection with their stabilization programs.

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Balfour's Long Record in British Politics

By CHARLES JOHNSTON

A BRAW Scotswoman was journeying on foot through the fertile plain of Fife-shire. From time to time she inquired, "Wha may be the laird o' this land?" Always the answer was, "Balfour o' Balbirnie!" Finally she threw up her hands, exclaiming, "The airth is the Lord's an' the fulness thereof; but Balfour o' Balbirnie has his ain share o' it!" From a younger line of the Balfours of Balbirnie is descended Arthur James Earl of Balfour, who was born eighty years ago, on July 25. His mother was a sister of the great Marquis of Salisbury, so that, besides the estate of Whittingehame in East Lothian, on the south shore of the Firth of Forth, Arthur James Balfour inherited the political traditions of the House of Cecil, famous in English history since the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Looking back through a vista of sixty or seventy years, Lord Balfour, in these pages from his speeches and addresses,* surveys many of the events of a distinguished career. Certain intellectual and moral qualities stand out. There is the serene sunshine of old age, of the ship, after a prosperous voyage, entering the harbor. "I proclaim myself an optimist!" says Lord Balfour, and all the themes of his addresses are radiant with courageous hope. Next comes the mental vigor, quite unimpaired by lapse of years; a twofold quality of the mind, uniting complete mastery of detail and the gift of large and universal vision. Like his ancestors, the Cecils, he is keenly practical; yet like all true Scotsmen he is a metaphysician, viewing the accidents of mortality from the mountaintop. Here are many topics, yet a single tone. In effect, Lord Balfour, like Cicero, sings the praises of old age. This harvest of benignity is well expressed in what he says of golf, reminding one of Cicero's comments on the joys of an elderly gentleman pruning his vineyard.

Arthur James Balfour entered Parliament in 1874. Four years later he accompanied his uncle, Lord Salisbury, to the Berlin Conference, where Disraeli and Bismarck barred the ad-

vance of Russia to Constantinople. Thus in his thirtieth year he was already in the heart of world affairs. In those days he was allied with Lord Randolph Churchill, Winston's father, in the adventure of the Fourth Party, which was to regenerate Great Britain through Tory Democracy. Then, from 1887 to 1891, when he was Member for East Manchester, he played his first dramatic rôle as Chief Secretary for Ireland, in face of Charles Stewart Parnell's dynamic personality and revolutionary parliamentary tactics. The followers of Parnell, attributing to Balfour an insatiate thirst for blood, pursued him like rhetorical wolves across the floor of the House. Balfour, tall, slender, even then slightly stooping, replied with philosophic calm, and also with undaunted courage. Then, from his headquarters in Dublin Castle, he set forth through the territory of the enemy to study the poverty-stricken districts of Connacht, seeking fundamental remedies for deep-seated economic woes. Today the Dail is dealing with the same problem. At that early day Mr. Balfour saw, as is set forth in these addresses, that there were two possible solutions for Ireland—either complete autonomy, with Ulster adhering to Great Britain, or the assimilation of Ireland in all respects with the larger island. The first of these alternatives is now on trial, following exactly the lines which he laid down.

His courage and ability in debate made him the inevitable leader of the Conservatives and Unionists in the House of Commons, and, from July, 1902, to December, 1905, Prime Minister. One of the best of the addresses in this book is his speech resigning the leadership of the Unionist Party at the end of 1911, after he had been nearly forty years in the House of Commons. In another address he pleads guilty to laziness. One may wonder whether that did not enter into his withdrawal, though in the years that followed he was destined to accomplish some of the hardest tasks of his life, with skill and mastery. Of the World War and the menace of universal despotism our philosopher has much to say. Through it all he played a valiant part. We may remember that, when the United States entered the

**Opinions and Argument From Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Balfour*, R. G., O. M., F. R. S. 301 pages. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$4.

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war in 1917, Balfour came to this country as head of the British Mission, while Joffre and the golden-tongued Viviani represented France. In 1921 he came again as British Delegate to the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, where his ripe wisdom helped to work out great results. When he went home he was rewarded first with the Knighthood of the Garter and two months later with a peerage.

There are two dramatic episodes in more recent years—the opening of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem in April, 1925, and the part he played in the Imperial Conference of 1926. Nothing better shows the vigor and vitality of his intelligence, even when he was on the eve of his eightieth year, than what he has to say of the Imperial Conference. Those who speak the English tongue, he says, have accomplished three creative tasks in human affairs—first, the discovery of parliamentary government; second, the federation of the States by the American Constitution; third and greatest, the union of equality formed between Great Britain and the Dominions, a union not of contiguous States but of equal nations scattered over the Seven Seas. This fine generalization shows the continuing vigor of an able philosophic mind. The book is full of golden wisdom, lit by the serene sunshine of old age.

Critics of the Versailles Treaty

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

BOSTON, they say, is a state of mind rather than a geographical expression and to an even greater degree is this true of the name Locarno. The conference which resulted in the treaties of October, 1925, marked a point of departure from the ideas, or rather the passions, which had found expression in the Versailles Treaty and in the Allied diplomacy of the preceding decade, and the beginning of a policy of rapprochement.

With brilliant analysis, M. Fabre-Luce* reviews the bankruptcy of the former system and pleads for the development of European, particularly of Franco-German, cooperation. He believes that Locarno is a means, not an end; and if the signatories rest content with the work already accomplished, they will have labored in vain. In the name of self-preser-

vation, he pleads for collaboration. France must become "European through egoism." M. Fabre-Luce represents a school of political thought in France that is breaking away from the chauvinistic nationalism which has been dominant and is willing to look facts in the face. At point after point he takes issue with M. Poincaré. He does not regard the Versailles Treaty as sacrosanct, nor does he believe that a peaceful Europe can be built on that as a platform. Its formulas "were chiefly designed to conceal disagreement" and represented no ordered program. From its very nature, the treaty is impermanent, and it progressively loses its power. A dictated peace can never endure if the defeated Power has greater potential strength. Nations smarting under what they consider to be injustice are a continual source of danger.

He recognizes that the allotment of colonial territory was so unfavorable to Italy and to Germany that a redistribution may be necessary. "Our prestige is incompatible with policy of surrender, but not with a policy of association." The Franco-Polish alliance is defensible, but not as "an instrument of anti-German policy." Every consideration of prudence dictates the cultivation of better relations with Germany. The process of liquidation of the debts and reparations may, if intelligently handled, be used as a lever to bring it about. While he regards the inter-allied debts as "doomed to extinction because they have no productive counterpart," he nevertheless believes that the Mellon-Béranger agreement should be ratified so that normal financial relations may be resumed. The future will inevitably provide for its reconsideration.

M. Fabre-Luce has written a stimulating book, whether or not one agrees with his conclusions. While it is primarily addressed to a French public, it deserves a wide reading both in England and America.

Outside France and her satellite Powers, few publicists remain who attempt any longer to defend integrally the Versailles Treaty. The best that can be said of it is that, passion being what they were, it was probably as good as could be expected. It is faulty in so many particulars that it is not strange that German scholars should delight in taking pot shots at it. Hermann Stegemann, who is now a Professor at the University of Freiburg and the author of a number of historical works relating to the war, is not content with guns of small calibre and advances with the heavy artillery. He has made his new book† a diplomatic and strategic history of Europe and he attempts to show that the treaty violates every lesson of the past. So devoted

**Locarno: The Reality*, by Alfred Fabre-Luce, translated by Constance Vesey. New York: Knopf, 1928. \$3.

†*The Mirage of Versailles*, by Hermann Stegemann, translated by R. T. Clark. New York: Knopf, 1928. \$5.



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he to his theory that history is based on strategy that he allows it to run away with him and to lead him to write a good many irrelevant pages.

The history of each of the European countries is reviewed successively and its position is shown to be insecure from a strategic point of view. Even the nations that have been supposed to have profited most from the treaty are in a parlous state. It might be suggested that so they were before the treaty. The chapter dealing with Germany is entitled "The Tragic Rôle of Germany." No doubt this is true, if history be no more than strategy; but it is not so simple as that. The interplay of forces of many sorts has already cast Germany for another rôle. Almost grudgingly he admits this. "Germany entered the League not as a martyr but as the master of her own fate," he says in one of his final paragraphs. There is no doubt but this is true. The jerry-built structure of the Treaty is slowly falling to pieces, and many of Professor Stegemann's trenchant criticisms, if not his fears, are likely to be justified.

The Soviet's Economic Problems

By A. M. NIKOLAIIEFF

FORMER COLONEL IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY

IN November last, ten years had passed since the Soviet Government attained power and established its control over Russia. The tenth anniversary of a social experiment "which has aroused more enthusiasm from some and more vituperation from others than any event since the storming of the Bastille" was marked by publication in Russia and elsewhere of books and special articles reviewing the first decade of Soviet rule and passing judgment on the results of the effort to build on new principles the social and economic organization of the State. Among those works the book under review,* written by an expert economist connected with the University of Cambridge, attracts special attention. Based on the material contained in an imposing set of sources listed at the end, the book presents not only the history of the various phases and crises through which the Soviet régime has lived and the problems which it has had to face, but it also offers an analysis of the conditions which arose under Soviet control.

The principal phases and problems of the

**Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution*. By Maurice Dobb, assisted by H. C. Stevens. New York. E. P. Dutton and Company, 1928.

Soviet régime, as set forth by the author, may be summed up as follows: The period of general nationalization and workers' control, followed by the years of "war communism" with its extraordinary measures of the forcible requisitioning of grain, compulsory labor and State-organized barter, resulting in a breach with the peasants, almost complete economic disorganization and the Kronstadt rebellion; the subsequent transition to the New Economic Policy (1921), or the re-establishment of the market and the extension of the use of money with the object of reviving the *smychka* (proper relationship) between peasant and worker without which any progress in the towns was impossible; the "sales crisis" of 1922, as a result of the famine in the previous year, followed by the much discussed crisis of the "scissors" (in the Autumn of 1923), on an extreme widening between rising industrial and falling agricultural prices caused by the "goods famine"; the phases of the fundamental problem of "town and village," causing a split within the Communist party (some recommending a policy of concessions to the peasants, and others insisting on a "dictatorship" of industry, which under the Soviet régime constitutes a State monopoly), and the adoption of the slogan, "Face to the village," under which particular attention began to be turned to the situation in the countryside; the campaign for "rationalization" of production and the problem of "primitive socialist accumulation" or of creation of new capital—and the results which the Soviet policy was able to achieve in that direction.

However, in reading this story we have to remember that the developments of which the author writes "are still unfinished." It is therefore, not the history of a period which has run its course like that of Russia's "troubled times" in the Seventeenth century, but an account of contemporary events whose march has not reached its end. Thus, "the 'scissors' today still persist and remain an important problem," while "the prospects of industrial expansion, and especially the expansion of State industry * * * become matters of prime importance for Russia's future and the future of her communist régime." With regard to the cardinal question of policy toward the peasantry (constituting six-sevenths of Russia's population), on which "considerable reliance for capital accumulation is being placed" and on the support of which the development of the industry depends, we read: "The old problem of the economic relation between the town and the village, which we saw as important in * * * 1918 * * * will recur continually until our final page." These words indicative of the great complexity of the problem, become even more significant if one takes into consideration the difficulties which the



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Soviet Government is experiencing on "the bread front," at the present time, a fact which has been officially admitted and openly discussed in the Soviet press quite recently. These difficulties arising from a shortage of "market grain" are due, among other causes, to the unwillingness of the peasants to sell their products because it is impossible to find on the market an "equivalent" for them. As a way out of that extremely serious situation the authorities took the decision to abandon the policy of concessions to the peasants, to revive the "extraordinary measures" for grain collections, and to place reliance forthwith on the development of "State" and "collective" farms, the former consisting of large estates run by the State, the latter of farms leased to groups of peasants and cultivated in common. In view of the possibility of a "planting strike," however, abolition of the "extraordinary measures," which were put into effect last Winter and last Spring, was voted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in July. The experiment was of collectivist farming tried during the period of "War Communism" and it "had come very near to the point of breakdown. * * * The task of reviving and extending them [the State and collective farms]," says the author, "might have caused such hostility on the part of the peasants, who tended to look on them as competitors and as the old landlords' estates in new guise, as to make the task a utopian one."

The author's final chapter on "Economic Prospects," is based on the general conclusion that, "while short-lived crises have occurred, * * * a level of production has already been attained which, even on conservative estimates, reaches the pre-war," and that the "recovery [of industry] continues at quite a surprising speed." These important statements, however, are based on the Soviet anniversary statistics and are not confirmed by a group of Russian economists, which includes Professor S. N. Prokopovich and those who met in an economic conference in Paris in February last. According to the report made by one of them (B. N. Sokoloff), which is based on a detailed study of the official figures, the total amount of production in 1926-27 was not more than 78 per cent. of the pre-war figures. The weakest spot in the whole economic system he sees in the fact that the Soviet Government, unable to make good the depreciation of industrial equipment, has been living so far and continues to live on "the capital which it had inherited from the pre-war." The seriousness of that obstacle to the development of industry is admitted by the Soviet press. Whether under the present régime, provided that no fundamental changes are made in its policy, industrial expansion will take place, as Mr. Dobb thinks, or the Soviet industry will turn out to be, in

the words of Professor Prokopovich, a "house built on sand," is a question which can be answered only in the future.

The British-American Oil War

By JOHN CARTER

AUTHOR OF *Man Is War and Conquest: America's Painless Imperialism* (IN PREPARATION)

MR. DENNY has had a wide experience of international journalism and he is today in charge of the United Press foreign staff in Washington. His qualifications for this study of the "Oil War"—between the British Government and the Standard Oil companies—are as indisputable as his facts are unimpeachable, and he has written one of the best, most vigorous and memorable analyses of current economic history which have appeared since John Maynard Keynes wrote his epochal *Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

This does not prevent Mr. Denny from being open to certain criticisms. He has a tendency, comprehensible in a journalist, to over dramatize his material. He is enrolled among that hard-headed group to forecast a war between the United States and the British Empire, because of the current economic, commercial, financial, industrial and naval competition of the two countries. He sees the present peace precariously poised above a welter of conflict and the oil controversy rumbling like Vesuvius above Pompeii. His concluding paragraphs set the matter succinctly:

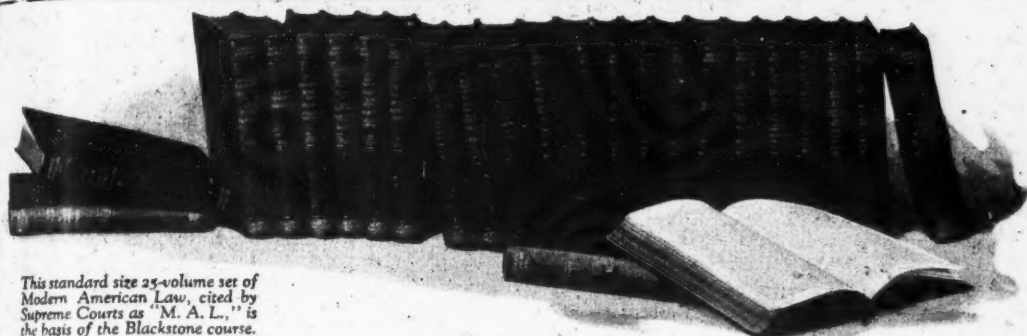
At first it was chiefly commercial rivalry between [oil] companies. Later the London Government was involved, then Washington. Now the British and American people are being aroused. In this country the old anti-trust crusade against Standard and the Fall-Doheny-Sinclair scandals put petroleum in bad odor. The public has been in no mood to champion the cause of any oil company at home or abroad. But this sentiment is changing.

The danger point will be reached when near-shortage drives prices upward and the American automobile owners are told the British have cornered most of the world supply. * * *

War is possible. War is probable—unless the two empires seek through mutual sacrifice to reconcile their many conflicting interests. This would involve sharing raw materials and markets, and dividing sea supremacy, without violating the rights of weaker nations. If some such miracle of diplomacy is achieved oil may cease to be an international explosive.

The author disclaims any intention of writ-

**We Fight for Oil*. By Ludwell Denny. 297 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.



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ing a history of the Oil War, for it is still being waged. Instead, he presents a graphic picture of the controversy. In this picture two elements emerge: First, that the British Government is itself in the oil business, that it has lent the weight of its immense naval, diplomatic and political prestige to the task of securing exclusive privileges for oil companies in which it is a shareholder, and that some of its activities in the Caribbean are inexplicable save as deliberate moves to discount the chances of defeat in a war with the United States. This side of the picture has been very ably, if provocatively, presented by Mr. Denny.

The other side of the picture is the inefficiency and waste of the American oil industry, operating under unrestrained competition and exploitation of our oleaginous wealth. This threatens us with an oil shortage within five years and has given edge to our protests against British foresight in snapping up all the other oil lands in sight. Mr. Denny does not seem to deal fully enough with this aspect of the quarrel. That the British course is provocative and, in instances, unfriendly is not open to question. Domestic British criticism has itself raised objections to its Government's activities in setting out after the Armistice to obtain control of the world's oil resources, after Wilson had been induced to commandeer the Standard's petroleum empire on Clemenceau's plea that "the safety of the Allied nations is in the balance" and after Lord Curzon had stated that the United States had furnished "over 80 per cent. of the Allied requirements of petroleum products."

As early as 1905 Mr. Pretyman, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, secured money for D'Arcy, in order to maintain the Anglo-Persian Oil Company until such time as the British Government could take over its majority stock. In 1914 Lord Fisher discovered Henri Deterding—"Napoleonic in his audacity and Cromwellian in his thoroughness"—to be the genius of the Royal Dutch-Shell combination which was to combat, with British support, Standard all over the world. In 1918 the British Government, according to Mr. Denny, specially commissioned the Alves' British Controlled Oilfields to fight the Standard. Like Anglo-Persian, this company is under British Government control, and its activity in securing concessions in strategic points near the Panama Canal is a peculiar by-product of its official backing. When Lord Cowdray tried to sell out his Mexican holdings to his American competitors after the war, the British Government intervened and forced him to sell to the Dutch-Shell group. While the Deterding group obtains over one-third of its entire output from its American wells, we are de-

nied reciprocity in Australia, British Borneo, part of Africa, British Honduras, British Guiana and Trinidad:

American consular dispatches describe the British Government policy (in India and Burmah), regarding ownership and production, as "one of entire exclusiveness." Standard of New York informed the State Department that it was not even allowed to purchase a warehouse in Burmah.

Mr. Denny conducts his narrative along the line of these "knaveish tricks" of the naughty British, as if there were something inherently wicked in their success in getting what they want and as if our own system of unrestricted private operation was inherently good and beautiful. Each side has its advantages. We produce oil in abundance, without worrying about posterity, for "what has posterity done for us?" The British secure oil fields and, while helping us exhaust our own supplies, decline to allow us to exhaust theirs. Our system is excessively productive. Theirs excessively conservative. Neither is right and neither is wrong, and no one knows whether the Bergius system for the production of synthetic oil from liquefied coal or some other discovery may not solve the entire problem of oil supply within the next decade. Standard has acquired rights in the Bergius process and does not seem to be worrying much about the future.

With these two things in mind—British ultra-conservatism and American prodigality—well in mind, it is easy and refreshing to run over Mr. Denny's account of the Oil War. His exposé of the ambiguous British activities in Caribbean and Central America will be an eye-opener for some Americans. The Yates mission to Colombia was one of the outstanding features of an unblushing scramble for economic and strategic advantages:

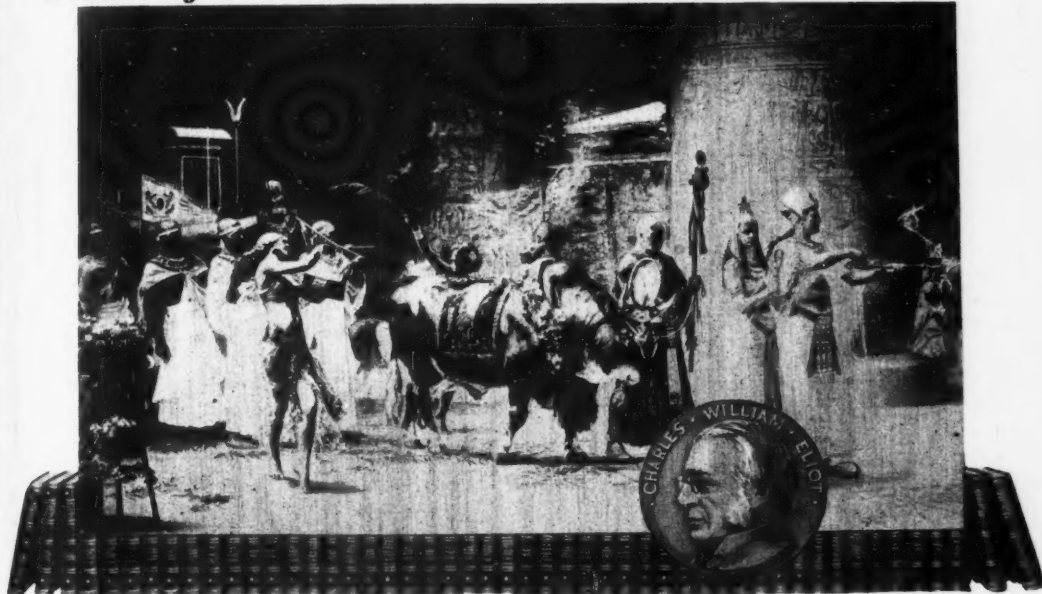
Colombia probably will be the scene of the next international oil explosion (the author prophesies): Grave international consequences are threatened by the efforts of Anglo-Persian, a British Government Company, to get a concession with canal rights flanking the Panaman defenses of the United States.

All the elements of danger are there: alleged British Government defiance of the "Monroe Doctrine Corollary," conflict between Standard and British companies, Nature blocking petroleum exploitation, primitive tribes suspicious of alien invasion, labor troubles, "Mexicanized" laws and regulations, disputed land and subsoil titles, foreign financial penetration and diplomatic intervention. On top of this explosive well sits Standard, intending by the grace of the State Department to remain there.

The purchase of Russian oil by Standard, after the Dutch-Shell had failed to secure a monopoly of Russian oil from the Soviets, was followed by Sir Henri's puzzling explosion. "the time has come when the purchase of stolen goods from Russia should be treated in

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fact and in law precisely as the purchase of any other stolen goods." The London *Outlook* characterized this broadside as "sheer hypocrisy * * * indecent and disgusting." The truth is that Russian oil ended the Dutch-Shell sales monopoly in the Near and Middle East, undercutting Sir Henri's price by 15 per cent. a ton on crude oil:

Thanks to the decline of Russian production under Tsarist inefficiency, subsequent long rehabilitation during the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary periods, Caucasian oil had practically disappeared from the world market. By this default the British were given a virtual production and sales monopoly in the Near East for several years. This situation is largely responsible for the present dominant international commercial position of the British trusts and their high profits, despite the costly competition with Standard in Western Europe and the Americas. In challenging Great Britain's monopoly in the Near East, Standard is now with this Russian weapon striking at the very heart of the British trusts.

This is, moreover, tit-for-tat with respect to the aggressive Alves penetration in Central America:

Much more than commercial oil supremacy and profits is involved in the Standard-British conflict in India and the Near East. There is the issue of British Imperial defense, of naval needs and trade routes of the Empire. Standard's partial alliance with Russia, its Turkish Petroleum Company shares, its prospective fields in the "Tree" Mosul blocks and in North Persia, make the American trust an unwelcome Power in that strategic region where Great Britain hitherto has dominated as by divine right.

This is the sequel to the London Government's concession drive toward the Panama Canal. America, in turn, heads toward the Suez Canal. It is not necessary to suppose that this retaliation is by State Department design. But it is apparent that Standard, invading the British Empire's Eastern stronghold, will have the vigorous support of the Washington Government.

Such passages as these help the reader to simplify and visualize the basic facts of the Gargantuan struggle between the giants of the oil world, as summed up in Standard vs. the British Government's oil companies and protégés. It is, however, an over-dramatized picture. The British Isles lack oil resources, so the direct aid of the British Government, especially of the Admiralty, in securing supplies of fuel oil for its navy and merchant fleet, is entirely natural. We have hitherto had oil in abundance and now that, with British aid, we are exhausting our fields, our Government is being called upon to support the Standard in its losing battle with the mighty British Empire. While this may induce international friction, it is hard to see that it implies war. For governments, unlike oil companies, have a sense of responsibility for the general, as distinct from the particu-

lar, interests of their countries. So long as the direct trade between this country and Great Britain amounts to over a billion dollars a year, one may seriously doubt that either nation will think it worth its while to resort to arms for the sake of even several hundred million dollars worth of oil.

How the League Covenant Was Drafted

By DENYS P. MYERS

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

NO one other than Mr. Miller could have written this book.* As legal adviser to the American members of the Commission of the Paris Peace Conference which made the Covenant of the League of Nations, he not only kept elaborate notes but carefully preserved every scrap of paper relating to the work in hand, and now in his book he both supplements his own files and works all the material available to him into a scholarly, judicious and judicial narrative.

The secretaries of the delegates to the League of Nations Commission in Paris kept minutes, of which both the English and French versions were printed, but not published. It is not generally known that President Wilson in 1920 had agreed to the publication of the English minutes. But when they were carefully read, it was found that they raised or left unanswered almost as many questions as they answered, respecting the actual origin and meaning of the Covenant. It was further found that comparison of them with the French minutes answered some questions and raised others. The editor who had proposed publication, faced by such difficulties, gave up the project. Mr. Miller now publishes both sets of minutes. He corrects the record, where necessary, by reference to earlier or other drafts, to other papers, to his diary as an actual participant, and to his own recollection.

The narrative itself is the plain story of the drafting of the Covenant, starting with the circumstances which brought forth the early drafts. The work of each meeting of the Commission, of two sessions with neutral States and of many private conversations is followed in detail with the text under discussion always under the reader's eye. A few questions such as mandates, the proposed naval agreement and the inclusion of the Covenant in the Treaty

**The Drafting of the Covenant.* By David Hunter Miller, with an introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928. 2 vols.

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are discussed in separate chapters. On the latter Mr. Miller is in no doubt; it was "the wisest of Wilson's many wise decisions."

Leaving out of account the almost innumerable private projects, which either ran tandem with or originated official ideas, Mr. Miller records sixteen official drafts of a Covenant before the League of Nations Commission began its work. One of them was French, another Italian, and the rest British or American. There were four by Wilson, each a revision of its predecessor; an early one by House; one by Bliss, and two in which Miller collaborated with Cecil and Hurst, respectively; altogether eight drafts in which Americans either set down their ideas or had a hand. The Phillimore plan of March 20, 1918, was the first official proposal; it was a basis for both House and Wilson, who wrote in that order. Then there was the well-known Smuts "practical suggestion" and a Cecil plan. Then there followed a British delegation plan of Jan. 20, 1919, and an attempt at amalgamating the British and Wilson drafts by Lord Eustace Percy. From these and Wilson's third (second Paris) draft were evolved a Cecil-Miller text, which was again revised by Hurst of the British delegation. Hurst and Miller, under instructions, made another revision, and Wilson made his fourth draft from that. Until the last minute, it was supposed that this final Wilson draft would serve as a basis for the debates of the Commission, but it was, in fact, the Hurst-Miller draft which was used.

In ten sessions from Feb. 3 to Feb. 14, a Commission of fifteen—later nineteen—dele-

gates of fourteen States whipped into shape the Covenant which was first published to the world. On March 18, Wilson and Cecil made a revision of that; on March 20-21, delegates of thirteen neutral States presented criticisms and suggestions on it, and on March 22, 24 and 26, in three sessions, the Commission itself revised the document in the light of all this scrutiny, including that of its own members, producing a second Commission draft. Then the text was prepared for the drafting committee, whose text of April 5 went before the Commission at two sessions on April 10 and 11. And lastly, it was again polished up on April 21, before final passage by the Peace Conference on April 28, not to mention drafting changes, before it was incorporated in the Treaty of June 28.

Brief Book Reviews

RECENT REVELATIONS OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY. By G. P. Gooch. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$3.

So significant, in the opinion of the author, have been the political and diplomatic revelations of the last four years that he has taken advantage of the demand for a third impression of this book to add a supplementary chapter on revelations in 1927. Those who read the earlier volume will recall that, while Dr. Gooch in the main summarizes the testimony and arguments of other men, he frequently expresses his own views on books, persons and events. This method lifts the book out of the class of a mere bibliographical survey and gives the lay reader a guiding thread, as it were,

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by which he may follow with a certain assurance and understanding the raw materials of history. Dr. Gooch considers the contributions of Russia to the revelations of 1927 important and places Sazonov's apologia at the head of the list, because so far we have had no authoritative explanation of Russian diplomacy in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities comparable to those of Lord Grey, M. Poincaré and others.

PRESENT-DAY RUSSIA. By Ivy Lee. New York: Macmillan. \$2.50.

Although the impressions recorded here are based on less than a fortnight of first-hand experience, the author thinks that his contact with the small group of men who represent Russia enabled him to learn their state of mind

toward their own situation and toward the rest of the world. Moreover, he supplemented those conversations with intimate talks with Ambassadors of the various countries and with newspaper correspondents. Mr. Lee, who is an adviser to many of the largest financial interests in the world, and who, to use his own words, "is distinctly interested in the maintenance of capitalism," says: "The great enemy of mankind is the Communist International. The supreme problem is how to drive a wedge between the Communist International and the Russian people." He makes a plea to business statesmen for a propaganda of deeds rather than words, and while not proposing a specific program suggests that Western civilization is called upon to give the average Russian the vision of prosperity. Just how this can be done the author does not say, but

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THE AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF STATE AND THEIR DIPLOMACY. Vol. IV. Edited by Samuel Flagg Bemis. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.

By recording the careers of the various Secretaries of State it is hoped to stimulate the interest of Americans in our foreign policy and our relations with other countries. To this end the history of the Department of State has been interpreted in terms of the lives of the men who successively administered the office, and a vivid and personal quality is thus imparted to what otherwise might seem dry and uninteresting history. New light is thrown on the Administration of Andrew Jackson by following the course of our Government in diplomacy as revealed in the sketches presented here of his Secretaries, Edward Livingston, Louis McLane and John Forsyth. Of particular significance is the characterization of that notable publicist, Livingston, in the rôle of diplomat as set forth by Francis Rawle.

MODERN JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS. By G. C. Allen. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.

The particular problem which the author has set himself is to determine whether, in spite of the introduction of Western institutions and of Western industrialism, Japan remains Oriental in its outlook and way of life, or whether, on the contrary, the foundations of its civilization have really been changed. His findings indicate that Japan has breathed into the institutions and systems imported from Europe a spirit peculiarly her own, with the inevitable result that there has arisen a mass of novel problems and phenomena little understood by Europeans. Those who are interested in world economic problems will find that particular attention has been paid to the industrial and commercial structure of the country, particularly in the chapters on Population and on Banking and Finance.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC. Edited by J. B. Condliffe. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. \$3.

This book is the outgrowth of the second conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu, where distinguished men and women representing diverse civilizations met in the Summer of 1927 to discuss matters of mutual concern. The first section of the volume is devoted to addresses giving the outlook on Pacific affairs of each of the national groups. A summary of round-table discussions is also included, as well as certain documents of significance based on data gathered by the various national councils.

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY DURING THE WAR. By Dr. Gustav Gratz and Professor Richard Schüler. English version by W. Alison Phillips. New Haven: Yale University Press. For the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. \$3.50.

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BENES, EDUARD. *Der Aufstand der Nationen*. Berlin: Cassierer, 1928. Mk. 20.

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Britain's Industrial Future; Being the Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry. London: Benn, 1928. 5s.

A survey of the present industrial situation and suggestions for the formulation of a Liberal program of legislation, made by a group of prominent members of the party.

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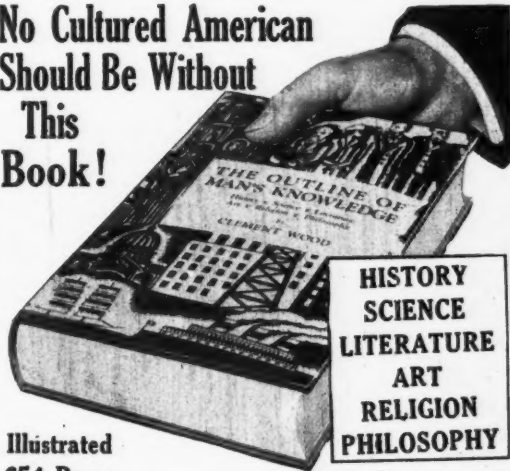
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